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ABSTRACT

The monograph reviews the life and development of James Burrill Angell, president of the University of Michigan (1871-1909), with special emphasis on his internationalist perspective and its implications for higher education. An examination is made of James Burrill Angell's sojourns into the world of international diplomacy and politics during the shaping of late nineteenth-century American foreign policy and its effects on his performance and influence as president of the University of Michigan. Through the use of numerous quotations from first-hand accounts, authors, news reports, and newspaper and magazine articles, the events of Angell's diplomatic career and experiences, particularly focusing on his China mission in 1880-81, undergo analysis and commentary. Included are a recounting of the attitudes that existed in nineteenth-century America concerning Chinese immigration, particularly those attitudes held in the state of California. In addition, the paper details Angell's impressions of China, its people and urban life. Finally, appraisals are given of Angell's years at the University of Michigan and his contributions to both education in general and the University of Michigan in particular. (Includes 102 footnotes.) (GLR)

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James Burrill Angell's China Mission, 1880-1881: The Forging of an Internationalist University Presidency*

by

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James Burrill Angell, 1829-1916. This photograph was made in the early 1880s. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 14. Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, The University of Michigan.

James Burrill Angell's China Mission, 1880-1881:
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> I need hardly say that, for the advantage of the Michigan students . . . and for the reputation and usefulness of the University, it is in the highest degree desirable that it continue to attract students from every part of this country and from foreign lands. One of the most valuable elements in the education of every student who comes here is found in the opportunity and the necessity of mingling with associates from all parts of the world. It would be a great weakening of our strength and of our influence, if the cosmopolitan character of the University community should be exchanged for a narrow and local character. I believe that the State is as proud as we are of the power which the University has had from its early days to attract so many students from distant homes, and would regret the adoption of any policy which should practically limit its constituency to our own State.[1]

> Your mission seems to me one of the most important ever entrusted to any American envoy, . . . I am glad that it devolves on one so competent to bring about good results.[2]

Assessing James Burrill Angell's presidency (1871-1909) of the University of Michigan shortly after Angell's death (1916), Wilford Shaw, then general secretary of the University's Alumni Association and editor of The Michigan Alumnus, wrote:

> His diplomatic career, though only incidental to his life work as an educator, showed that he possessed the necessary qualifications for what might have been a very distinguished career in other fields.[3]

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*Many individuals have contributed to the completion of this research: chief among them the archival staff of the Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, and the Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center and Library in Fremont, Ohio. To them my thanks. Especial gratitude to my wife, Rosie Lynette Campbell, for her assistance in tracking down sources and to Xiao Ming Yang and Chun Sheng Zhang for their efforts in aiding me to understand some of the complexities of late nineteenth-century China under the Ch'ing (Manchu) Regime. My thanks to the Word Processing Center staff, College of Education and Allied Professions, Bowling Green State University, for manuscript preparation. All thoughts, unless otherwise cited, are mine.

Shaw, however, did not doubt that Angell's tenure at Michigan had been a decided advantage for the University. Speaking in poetic, perhaps even nostalgic terms, Shaw viewed Angell's contribution at Ann Arbor as twofold: a) Angell had created a "true" university from a preexisting college; b) in doing so, he had fastened "the educational ideals of the West" upon University students, in Shaw's view Angell's greatest influence.[4]

More recent critics of President Angell's administration at the University of Michigan continue to assess his diplomatic career as largely tangential to his contributions to a university ethos. Howard H. Peckham, the sesquicentennial chronicler of the Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania and its subsequent development, viewed Angell's contribution to the University during the two phases (1871-1890, 1891-1909) of his presidency as the impress of a great man exuding a father image, an individual possessed of "charismatic charm" linked to "great wisdom in educational matters, if not great originality."[5]

In Peckham's view James Burrill Angell's presidency at the University of Michigan represented an apex of conservatism in American higher education administration: a presidential leadership style characterized by certainty over university purpose and its achievement, commitment to the concept of a teaching president, personal involvement in the many facts of university life (ranging from enrolling students in the Literary College to conducting all chapel services), and, above all, maintenance of an intimate milieu in which to contour relations with faculty and students. To this leadership style, bearing the imprint of the Renaissance man, the

multidimensional humanist, Angell's episodic sojourns away from Ann Arbor in the worlds of international diplomacy and politics (United States minister to China, 1880-1881; Commissioner, Anglo-American Fishery Commission, 1887-1888; Chairman, Deep Waterways Commission, 1895-1896; and United States minister to Turkey, 1897-1898) contributed little, Peckham averred, if anything. Angell's presence in late Ch'ing China of the early 1880s aided Chinese awareness of the University; his briefer sojourn in Turkey under Abdülhamid II's sultanate resulted in a Turkish government donation of 168 books to the University Library.[6]

The view of James Burrill Angell's diplomatic career as contributing little of significance to the development of the University of Michigan, in general, and to his presidency of the University, in particular, has characterized biographical studies of Angell as well as studies linking Angell's career at Ann Arbor to the development of post-Civil War American higher education. Biographers of Angell would echo Burke A. Hinsdale's assessment of the impact of Angell's diplomatic career on the University. Wrote Hinsdale on the thirtieth anniversary of Angell's tenure:

> These several leaves of absence [occasioned by the requisites of Angell's diplomatic posts] the Board of Regents granted in the belief that the stability of the University was now so well established that it would suffer no serious detriment during the President's absence, that the several appointments were honorable to the President, to the institution, and to the state, and that the interest of the country would be promoted. Experience demonstrated the soundness of these views.[7]

An excellent example of the tenacity of this view in which James Burrill Angell's diplomatic career is marginalized by his

biographers is provided by the late Shirley W. Smith's James Burrill Angell: An American Influence (1954).

Smith, a former three-year general secretary of the University's Alumni Association and secretary to the University, 1908-1945, devoted three chapters, "Minister to China: The Preliminaries," "Minister to China: The Treaty," and "Portrait of a Foreign Minister," of his biography to Angell's 1880-1881 China mission. Based on President Angell's diary, discovered in the attic of the Detroit, Michigan, home of his eldest son, Alexis Caswell Angell, and his The Reminiscences of James Burrill Angell (1912), Smith's discussion of Angell's preparation for and implementation of his China mission remains the most comprehensive account to date of that mission. Smith viewed the results of Angell's China mission for the University as two-dimensional: one dimension was the opening of The University of Michigan to students from China; the second inhered in the Chinese government's August, 1885, gift of its 1884-1885 New Orleans, Louisiana, Exposition exhibit to the University. In his earlier biography of Angell's successor (June 28, 1910) to the University's presidency, former Dean of the Law School, Harry Burns Hutchins, Smith spoke of the enthusiasm generated by Sir Robert Hart's announcement as president of the Chinese Commission for the Exposition to Angell, his friend from the early 1880's in China: "The whole state as well as the University felt the distinction implied in the communication . . . The exhibit was set up in the Museum, where for over forty years it was a center of interest to students and visitors."[8]

In his Foreword to Wilfred B. Shaw's 1936 edition of James Burrill Angell's correspondence during the two-year period

(1869-1871) he was pondering whether to accept the University of Michigan's presidency, James Rowland Angell, Angell's youngest son and then President of Yale University, spoke of his father's inheritance of a conservative New England cast of mind regarding intellectual milieux west of the Hudson River, a perspective James R. Angell identified as a "rather smug complacency":

> My father has inevitably inherited a certain amount of this feeling, having known only New England and Europe in an educational way . . . But father had a naturally curious and exploring mind, not averse to reasonable adventure as many events in his career attest. His six years experience as editor of a city newspaper [The Providence (Rhode Island) Journal, the editorship of which he assumed in 1860, upon the election of then editor Henry B. Anthony to the United States Senate] has taught him to distrust in a measure the dogmatic deliverances of the academic mind.[9]

Unwilling to place his father's administration at the University of Michigan in an altogether conservative purview, James Rowland Angell, like so many critics before him, saw James Burrill Angell's strength to lie in "the extraordinary influence his personality exercised on students, faculty and people of the State" and separated his diplomatic career from that influence. Of James Burrill Angell's presidency at Ann Arbor, his son asserted:

> For the man himself the experience was no less invaluable. Michigan gave him scope for exactly those qualities which he possessed in the highest degree. It gave him the matchless satisfaction of seeing a great human enterprise of first importance grow under his hand year by year in power and usefulness. It opened doors of opportunity to serve many other causes, the diplomatic needs of the national government among them, in ways which enriched his life and afforded him keen gratification.[10]

James Rowland Angell's overall assessment of his father's presidency at the University of Michigan has survived in the portraits of James Burrill Angell's thirty-eight year career at Ann Arbor authored

by recent historians of post-Civil War American higher education; three such sketches come to mind particularly.

Laurence R. Veysey, in his pivotal The Emergence of the American University (1965), views Angell at Michigan caught up in a balancing act to maintain three requirements of institutional success in universities west of the Alleghenies: academic excellence, broad accessibility, and social distinction, "at least in local terms." Angell framed his juggling act with a broader framework of the utilitarian program, based on a highly controversial elective system and a much less controversial plan to admit high school students to the University by principal's certificate and not by the prevailing practice of examination. In Veysey's perspective, Angell's program became increasingly conservative and increasingly difficult to fathom.

> His definition of democracy was a conservative one; although applauding the wide diffusion of education, he maintained that 'intelligence and character ought to outweigh . . . mere numbers.' . . . A diplomat in every sense, Angell avoided raising awkward criticisms about such 'touchy' questions as the growth of wealth among the students. Angell easily adopted the smooth optimism of the well-adjusted progressive-conservative. When asked his views on particular aspects of university policy, he was apt to respond with ad hoc opinions which revealed a lack of deep-seated conviction.[11]

Veysey concludes his brief portrait of Angell, a portrait he has largely based on the previous scholarship of Shirley W. Smith and Wilford B. Shaw, together with Angell's published autobiography and his President's Reports for the years 1874, 1880, 1883, and 1890, by suggesting that Angell, as "the beloved, non-controversial patriarch of Ann Arbor," exuded "benedictions" which, for later generations, were bereft of meaning.[12]

Placement of Angell's presidency at Ann Arbor within a utilitarian or conservative ideological cast has characterized post-Veyseyian historiography on the growth of the nineteenth-century American university. In the third edition of their Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1976, the late John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy place Angell's career largely within the utilitarian context: He is credited with agreeing to "the vital necessity of building real universities in America which would offer better facilities for professional training and for advanced graduate instruction in the arts and sciences," maintenance of "a faith in the new frontiers of science which the university-trained elite would explore," supporting a policy of admitting students to the University from all parts of the then United States, and, most importantly, adhering to a tradition in Michigan of favoring "a centralized, tax-supported state system of education" in the belief that higher education should be within reach of the talented person in spite of financial status "in the interests of fully utilizing the intellectual potential of the nation."[13]

Silent as they are on Angell's diplomatic career while at the University of Michigan, Brubacher and Rudy are in no doubt that Angell's travels to Europe in the early 1850's were instrumental in his advocacy for a "New Education" in the post-bellum United States, based on selectively transplanted Germanic academic practices. Characteristically utilitarian in his views on the university's place in the "New Education," Angell's vision did not support an unqualified utilitarian agenda in the reconstruction of American higher education following the Civil War. Brubacher and Rudy credit Angell, together

with Charles W. Eliot (then Harvard University's president) and Andrew D. White (Cornell University's first president), with persuading the newly formed trustees of Johns Hopkins University to eschew the founding in Baltimore, Maryland, of a purely utilitarian institution committed to local aims and practical training.[14] Angell's presidency at Ann Arbor as less than illustrative of a pure utilitarian model of university administration in post-Civil War America appears in Burton J. Bledstein's study of late 19th century American middle class efforts to create a "culture of professionalism" through expansion of access to higher education.

Bledstein's analysis of James Burrill Angell's presidency at the University of Michigan suggests a leadership style in which, while the University tended to decline in material terms relative to its private Eastern counterparts, professional concerns: "a broadened base for the student body through extension of the elective system, university certification of state high schools, permanent admission requirements for medical school, the first professorship in education and the first instruction in forestry, comprehensive examinations for the B.A., and organized graduate studies in its own school" dominated presidential agendas. Quoting John Hay's, President William McKinley's Secretary of State, homage to Angell ("I am sure I need not say what a comfort it is . . . to hear an occasional clear and authoritative voice like yours . . ."), Bledstein makes note of Angell's acceptance of diplomatic missions to China and to Turkey. Important as these missions, along with his service on international commissions, were in the shaping of late nineteenth-century American foreign policy, Bledstein argues that Angell's involvement in United States diplomacy

had one major import for the American university, among other, unspecified ramifications: "Angell, for instance, pioneered in the use of foreign archives in the writing of diplomatic history."[15]

Deliberate or not, contemporary historiographical portraits of Angell's career at the University of Michigan divorce its academic and diplomatic facets. This conceptual dichotomy results in a marginalized view of Angell's diplomatic career while he was president of the University of Michigan in the latter third of the 19th century. At best this analytical perspective is at odds with how James Burrill Angell viewed his diplomatic ventures at the time: central components of his presidency at Michigan from which not only he but the University would benefit.

On the evening of Friday, June 4, 1880, prominent citizens of Detroit, Michigan, entered the dining room of the Russell House to honor James Burrill Angell's appointment as United States Minister to China and Chairman of a Commission to revise existing treaties with China, an appointment which the United States Senate had confirmed the previous April 9, 1880. After dining on a multi-course meal including little neck clams, blue point oysters, green turtle soup, consomme a la royal, boiled California salmon, baked bluefish, and croquette de pomme de terre as appetizers; petils bouches a al reine, larded roast filet of beef with mushrooms, roasted spring chicken with green peas, loin spring lamb with mint sauce and cauliflower, boned turkey with truffles a al Gelee, Cincinnati ham decorated with aspic as main entries; mayonnaise, foigras, pate of game, Roman punch, stewed terrapin a la Maryland, croquette of chicken in the form of pears, crabs en coquille au gratin, game with Madeira wine as yet a third

course; and, finally, desserts consisting of champagne jelly, plum pudding, brandy sauce, Rhein wine jelly, Charlotte Russe, cup custard, and assorted cakes, Angell shared his view of the forthcoming diplomatic mission to China with his undoubtedly somnolent well-wishers.[16]

President Angell's remarks to this Detroit gathering assumed the characteristics of a State of the University speech, not unlike those countless other addresses he would give during his tenure at Ann Arbor. After praising the evening's chairman, G. V. N. Lothrop; two University donors, Henry N. Walker and Philo Parsons; and a Michigan jurist, Thomas M. Cooley; Angell enumerated the growth of the University under his administration, not the least accomplishment of which was an "unprecedented" student enrollment of 1,430, individuals "of both sexes, of all races, nations and classes, students" literally from every continent on the globe." Angell asserted that, while his Ministerial appointment was occasioned by his association with the University of Michigan, his forthcoming responsibilities in China did not signal an end to his interest in the University; they might benefit the University.

> I trust that it is sufficiently obvious . . . that I rank no work higher or more honorable than participation in the conduct of such an institution as this (Applause), and that I have no purpose in my temporary absence of abating one whit my efforts in its behalf. (Applause) . . . I have accepted (the Ministerial appointment) because I have thought it might be, perhaps, in some respects, advantageous to that institution.[17]

Angell was particularly keen on assuring his Detroit friends of his intent, following the diplomatic hiatus in China, to continue his presidency at Ann Arbor. That concern, however, was not his exclusive motive.

President Angell concluded his June, 1880, farewell address in Detroit by reminding his audience that international diplomacy and university careers were not unrelated. Citing the diplomatic careers of university scholars, including Oxford University's Montague Barnard's 1871 stint as joint commissioner in settlement of the Alabama claims, Harvard's James Russell Lowell's ministerial tenure at Madrid and at the Court of St. James, Cornell's President Andrew D. White's ministerial post in Berlin, Angell painstakingly pointed especial kudos at the then Chinese minister to the United States, Yung Wing, for exemplifying and enriching career partnerships between diplomacy and universities.

> . . . (T)he Chinese above all the peoples of the world emphasize the training of the schools in the choice of their officials. In that ancient empire the poorest and humblest boy upon the streets, if he can attain to eminence in scholarship, may hope to rise to the highest posts of honor . . . (A)s I have been informed, coming from a humble origin, the present distinguished minister of China in our country, Mr. Yung Wing, who is not only versed in the learning of his own nation, but is a graduate of an American college, passed rapidly from rank to rank till he reached the present post which he fills so creditably alike to his own country and ours.[18]

Angell closed his remarks with his perception that the Hayes administration would make no untoward claims on China, an expectation coupled with the hope that his mission to China would benefit from his official connection with the University. Contemporaries of Angell were quick to support his ministerial appointment and to see benefit in the Chinese mission for both Angell and the University of Michigan.

At a time in American history when academicians were not routinely called into diplomatic service, specifically, or into governmental service, generally, one is struck by the lack of dissenting voices in the support given James Burrill Angell's

appointment as United States Minister to China at the outset of the 1880's. What correspondence and testimonials survive relative to his appointment reveal disparate reasons for support but support nonetheless. Moreover, much of that support speaks of benefits accruing not only to Angell; the University of Michigan stands to gain. Wrote University of Michigan Regent, E. C. Walker, to Angell:

> Your startling letter of yesterday is rec'd - I consider the offer very complimentary both to yourself and to the University.
>
> Without taking time from reflection or consideration of the obstacles that may arise, I am at first blush . . . in favor of your acceptance of the position.
>
> As to yourself personally--I would be sorry to have you go out on a hopeless mission, where there was little if any chance of success and where you were . . . sure to come back disappointed. But, if considering the relations between the countries, there is a fair prospect that a satisfactory arrangement could be made . . . I think it a chance to see the world . . . which you ought not to reject.
>
> As to the . . . University--I think the prestige of our Prest selected and sent upon such a mission would compensate for your absence from (sic) 15 or 18 mo. The prosperity of the University is so established and its progress so sure that a temporary interregnum would not in my opinion seriously affect the institution. The success under the 2 years of Dr. Freize demonstrates that fact. There would be difficulty in appointing a Regent - but that can be overcome. (Dr. Duffield would take it!!!)[19]

Regent Walker's missive is illustrative of the virtually unqualified support the American and international press, colleagues, friends, missionaries, and politicians would give President Angell's Chinese mission.

From Number 67 Behren Strasse, Berlin, headquarters of the American Legation in Germany, Minister Andrew D. White, then president

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*Regent in the sense of temporary ruler.

of Cornell University, sent congratulations on Angell's appointment. Noting that Angell would "render most valuable services," experience a "change of scene and of occupation," together with "the rest which you doubtless greatly need," White expressed concern that Angell might "draw your thoughts permanently away from the University of Michigan." Clearly ecstatic that "college-people" were publicly recognized through appointments like this, his support for Angell was mirrored in the domestic and international press.[21]

An excellent example of domestic press support is provided by the Indianapolis News for March 25, 1880. Commenting on President Hayes' nomination of Angell as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to China the previous day, the News claimed Angell's appointment an excellent one in view of his "qualities which especially fit him for the delicate and important duties which will devolve upon him," qualities inclusive of "(h)is wide range of information upon international questions and his engaging manner." Premising its advocacy of Angell's cooption to diplomatic service on the reservation that neither the University's Board of Regents nor Angell himself would block acceptance, the News editorialized on the importance of such a diplomatic post to Angell, the University of Michigan, and the nation's higher education community.

> In his (Angell's) mission abroad he will receive an addition to his experience which will be of value and contribute to his increased usefulness as President of the University. With President White and President Angell filling two important diplomatic positions, the educational institutions of the country will have reason to be gratified in the recognition which they receive in the assignment of two distinguished educators to important posts in the diplomatic service of the Republic.[21]

As sanguine on Angell's appointment to what increasingly became called President Rutherford B. Hayes' "Chinese Mission" to resolve a "Chinese problem" or the "Chinese question" was the international press. After presenting a brief biography of Angell, the Francophone press concluded:

> The interests of the United States, at the same time as those of humanity, in this ticklish matter of the rapport with China, could not be entrusted to a more intelligent man and a man of more lofty purpose than James B. Angell, who . . . will not cut the Gordian knot of the Chinese question brutally, but will untie it skillfully.[22]

The domestic press shared this view of the difficulty of the Angell mission to China.

The Detroit Post and Tribune, in speaking of the high honor conferred on President Angell and the University of Michigan, stated that his selection had the intent of negotiating a new immigration treaty with China, "one of the most difficult and delicate tasks which a representative of the United States, under the present relations of our government with China, could be deputed to perform." The New York Tribune viewed Angell's mission as vital to the enhancement of friendly relations with the Chinese Empire, essential to growing American commercial interest and investment in Asia. Harper's Weekly, The (Baltimore) Sun, the (Burlington, Vermont) Free Press & Times, the Ann Arbor Register, the Boston Advertiser, The (San Francisco) Evening Express, and Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper; all spoke in glowing terms of Angell's ministerial appointment to China and the appointment of a three-member commission (other commissioners were John Franklin Swift, 1829-1891, a prominent San Francisco lawyer, and William Henry Trescott, 1822-1898, a South Carolina writer on international law and student of American diplomatic history who had

briefly served as Assistant Secretary of State under President James Buchanan prior to resigning to enter diplomatic service of the Confederacy) he would head to study the problematics of Chinese immigration to the United States. An excellent example of this approbation is the Harper's Weekly's laudatory editorial on "The Commission to China."

> The appointment of the commission to China is . . . altogether commendable. President Angell, of the University of Michigan, a gentleman of the best character and ability, of great urbanity and sagacity and accomplishment, has been selected as Minister to China . . . Mr. Swift . . . and Mr. Trescott . . . are associated with President Angell in a commission for the negotiation of a satisfactory treaty with China. This is a much better way of dealing with the Chinese question than the rough-and-ready method that was advocated last year (1879), . . . There is no reason to doubt that a just treaty will now be concluded.[23]

Laudatory comments continued.

> The appointments (Angell, Swift, and Trescott) are so excellent, and the impression of them so universally agreeable, that, since the conditions of success in such matters are so plain, it is singular that they should ever be forgotten or mistaken by the appointing power. It is very long since the foreign representation of this country has been so satisfactory as it is under the administration of President Hayes. It is clearly giving the 'd_____ littery fellers' their innings, and to the great honor and advantage of the country.[24]

Angell's appointment to President Hayes' Chinese Mission was not the first gift of innings for the "d_____ littery fellers" of the University of Michigan occasioned by duties in China.

Of the University of Michigan "littery fellers" who had preceded Angell to China, two especially deserve mention: Anson Burlingame, United States Minister to China, 1861-1867, subsequently the Emporer of China's Ambassador to the United States; and Professor James C. Watson, in the 1870s director of the University of

Michigan's observatory. In a diplomatic past which assumed the characteristics of a revolving door for American diplomats to China, Burlingame's six-year tenure in Beijing was noteworthy for providing some continuity for the United States legation; noteworthy as well was his successful effort to negotiate a treaty with China, replacing an earlier one negotiated by our first minister to China, Caleb Cushing, in 1845. Burlingame had attended the University when it was referred to affectionately as the "Yellow Academy," located on Bates Street, Detroit. Watson, a University of Michigan cosmologist, had studied astronomy in China.[25]

Shortly before his death, Professor Watson wrote Angell from his new home "Edgewood" in Madison, Wisconsin. Congratulating the soon-to-be-confirmed Minister on his appointment (like so many others Watson's support was predicated on the warranted assumption that Angell's acceptance implied no severance of his relationship with the University) and informing Angell of desirable travel routes to Beijing ("although it will take you three days longer, be sure and go from Tientsin to Peking by house-boat") and the formalities of diplomatic presentations at the Emporer's Palace (". . . you will be amused at the requirements of the Chamberlain as they will be announced to you") Watson prophetically cautioned his former boss on the upcoming mission.

> Considering . . . public sentiment on the Pacific slope you will have an arduous task before you; but the difficulties are by no means insurmountable. The Chinese are not to be judged by the peons, convicts and prostitutes who come to our shores from Canton, and I <u>doubt</u> <u>not</u> that you will find the Imperial government at Peking quite ready to infer into our arrangement to stop the exodus of such persons; but they will object, and I think justly, to a discrimination against them as a race.[26]

Why would James Burrill Angell's 1880-1881 Chinese mission be "an arduous task?"

James Burrill Angell's 1880-1881 Chinese mission has been viewed as anything but "an arduous task," as a biographical sketch issued by the class of 1890 and reprinted in the Michigan Alumnus for May, 1897, put it,

> (i)t was a well merited compliment as well as a sagacious selection, when he was appointed by President Hayes in 1880 as Minister Plenipotentiary to China, to negotiate a revision of the Burlingame treaty. Perhaps never before was there so large a draft upon his diplomatic skill as in this embassy. Within sixty days after his introduction to the Court of the Celestial Empire, Dr. Angell secured a satisfactory revision of the old treaty and an important commercial treaty regulating the importation of opium into the United States.[27]

On Saturday, November 20, 1880, three days after the United States Commission to the Ta Tsing Empire had signed a "Treaty upon Chinese Immigration to the United States" and a "Treaty upon certain commercial and judicial matters" with the Chinese government, Angell recorded his impressions of the Commission's work. Worth quoting at length, these impressions record why the Chinese mission was viewed, at least in its initial stages as a less than arduous task demanding "so large a draft upon . . . diplomatic skill."

> Messrs. Swift and Trescot started at 11 a.m. for home and so ends the work of the Commission. We signed the treaties in 48 days from our first business meeting. Such expedition in dealing with the Chinese save at the cannon's mouth has rarely or never been known. The Foreign Ministers here are surprised. I think they had expected we should fail. Mr. T. says he knows the State Dept (sic) had little hope of our success. Mr. Seward did all he could before he left to prevent our success. I had been told that the Foreign Ministers and the whole foreign community were opposed to our success. I must confess that I have seen no evidence that any minister has done anything to interfere with us. I am unable to judge whether the Russian troubles have facilitated our work or not, or whether a minister alone could have succeeded as well as a Commission.

> The Comrs (sic) got on us harmoniously in their official duties as could be expected. Though Mr. S (sic) and Mr. T. were much more intimate personally than I was with either, Mr. S. chose to think that Mr. T. and I had some sort of agreement or inclination to work against him. The fact simply is that by training and instinct Mr. T. took similar views of the main question and of modes of procedure. Mr. S. held the California view of the immigration question, and had no diplomatic experience or reading and no diplomatic instinct. If he had had his way, I believe we should have had no treaty. But at last he concurred with us with good grace and even seemed to be proud of the treaty.
>
> One of our most serious embarrassments has arisen from what I must consider to have been an error of the State Dept. that (sic) error was in appointing my colleagues as "Comrs Plenipotentiary" (sic) instead of as "Ministers Extraordinary." The former title is unknown to our naval officers in respect to salutes and it required the greatest care to avoid trouble with the Ministers at Peking. On the whole the work of a Commission subjects the ability of men to work together to so hard a test that I should be very reluctant to serve as one again with strangers.
>
> I think however (sic) our work well done and hope the country may so think. Our solution of the Chinese question commends itself to my judgement as good. I hardly expect that the nation will find any need of availing itself of the power conceded to it, though it is proper it should have the power.
>
> The "dues and duties" article may not give satisfaction, since while all the ports of China are not opened, some may hesitate to concede reciprocity.
>
> The opium article, Mr. T. fears, may be criticized by Mr. Evarts as exceeding our instructions. I do not think so and I believe it will be the most popular article we have negotiated.
>
> The judicial article secures an important point to us and will be appreciated by foreigners in China.
>
> I trust therefore (sic) that the work of the Commission will not be thought to bring discredit on the Comrs (sic) or on the nation but that it will result in public good.[28]

Angell's diary entry for the following, Sunday, November 21, 1880, was more succinct: "Church as usual. Letters home."

Angell's immediate post-Treaty assessment of the workings of the three-member United States Commission include a number of possible causes for the arduousness of his diplomatic responsibilities in

China: a lack of cooperation from Angell's predecessor as Minister to China, George Frederick Seward (1840-1910), nephew of Lincoln's Secretary of State; perceived cautious acceptance of the American mission to China by the European diplomatic community in Beijing; internal disagreements within the United States Commission, disagreements which frequently pitted Commissioner John F. Swift, spokesperson for Californian interests seeking to abolish Chinese emigration to the United States, against the other two Commissioners William Henry Trescot and Angell, who favored regulated Chinese immigration and not its abolition; and, lastly, what Angell from the hindsight of his published memoirs viewed as "one of the most serious embarrassments of the Commission," the failure of Hayes' State Department to appoint Swift and Trescot as "Envoys" or "Ministers Extraordinary," titles familiar to American naval officers and European diplomats, rather than "Commissioners Plenipotentiary," familiar to neither. Clearly, however, President James Burrill Angell's China mission did not evoke "so large a draft upon his diplomatic skill" solely because of disagreements over appropriate naval salutes and the unpleasantness of complicated social relations at Beijing, difficulties which occurred with more than coincidental regularity. Rather, a climate of opinion largely generated in the United States, in which American difficulties with China were identified as unilaterally a "Chinese problem" exacerbated the diplomatic milieu in which Angell worked.[29]

James Burrill Angell's 1880-1881 diplomatic mission to Late Imperial China of the Ch'ing (Qing or Manchu) regime occurred at a time of widespread ethnocentrism, inclusive of xenophobia, targeted at

Chinese emigrants to the United States. Western observers of the Chinese in the two centuries prior to the Angell mission had been ambivalent about giving the Ch'ing (Qing) empire (1644-1912) unqualified praise. In 1737, Lewis Le Comte, one of six Jesuit missionaries ordered by the Sun King, Louise XIV, to travel to China for the purpose of teaching the Gospel through mathematics, shared his views of the Chinese with an English-speaking audience. Claimed LeComte, the Chinese were ingeniously curious about the world around them, an observation based on "their libraries, universities, the prodigious number of their doctors, their observations, and the care they take to be exact in their observations." The Chinese, however, were a flawed people.

> . . . (A)mongst the qualities wherewith Heaven hath respectively inriched (sic) the people of the world, they have not showed (sic) that spirit of penetration and exactness which is so necessary to those who addict themselves to the search of nature. Nor have they that logick (sic) which we have so much improved, that geometry that we in France have brought to such a high degree of perfection, which may pass for the masterpiece of human understanding, which yet will never get admittance into their academics; and (cursing) all the natural pride that possesses them, they will not stick to confess, that, as to these matters, the Europeans will in all human probability be their masters.[30]

In post-Civil War America, it was not the lack of a "spirit of penetration and exactness" nor "logick" in the Chinese which exacerbated anti-Chinese sentiment in the United States. The difficulty arose within what was frequently termed "the ugly problem of Chinese immigration" to the United States, or, more simply put "the vexed Chinese question."[31]

Recently, Californians have engaged in brouhahas over whether the ancient Chinese game of pai-gow, a form of gambling in which

participants raise a brass dice container over their heads and then smash it on a table to determine the first player, described by a Fox Television News reporter as a gaming scene in which "domino-like tiles fly and dealers and players egg each other on in Cantonese," should be outlawed in the casinos of southern California. This debate places law enforcement officials against an alliance of casino operators and municipal officials. Law enforcement officials claim that aside from contravening California's 98-year-old gambling statute, pai-gow games are difficult to regulate; dealers and players act too swiftly and present a language barrier to potential regulators. However high the stakes, especially for the casinos, in this recent embroilment, a century ago anti-Chinese sentiment in the United States more inclusively viewed the Chinese immigrant population as a threat to the entire American labor and social fabric. As University of Michigan graduate (A.B., 1907), Edwin Neville, long-time American diplomat in the Far East noted in the introduction to his typescript of the two-volume James B. Angell diaries on his 1880-1881 China mission,

> . . . the great demands for labor in the mining and railroad enterprise in new . . . settled regions (along the Pacific coast) led to the introduction of Chinese laborers . . . Their background and their views of life were entirely different from those of the American settlers . . . The American settlers felt that the American political system . . . was seriously threatened by the influx . . . from the Far East; they . . . were equally disturbed at the prospect of a large alien element in the community who were not citizens, and were unable or unfitted to take part in a natural manner in the development of a truly American political community.[32]

Speaking less prosaically of the September, 1879, California vote on Chinese immigration, a full vote of 155,521, in which 154,638 votes opposed immigration, 883 votes favored its continuation, E. W. Hilgard

informed Angell that continued Chinese immigration was a mixed blessing to the Californian economy:

> The Chinese are faithful and contract-keeping laborers, surprisingly so considering the low grade of immigrants said to be coming. The crops could not be harvested without them. The vintage could not be made without them, and they never get drunk on the result . . . Irish morality as against Chinese . . . (T)he sovereign Irishman does not like to go to the country, especially in California. He wants fun, and he stays in the city and "is unemployed," while crops rot on account of want of labor. The Chinaman works wherever he can get work--and he is so damnably thrifty! . . . (N)o one [c]an contemplate an unlimited influx of Chinese millions. They are, to say the least, too difficult to digest, and could unquestionably . . . drive the Caucasians back.
>
> But for the time being, and perhaps a little longer, a little healthy competition will not hurt our Irish fellow-citizens.[33]

The Angell mission to China occurred within an ambience of American nativism, although the "melting pot" metaphor was not yet invented, the Chinese were viewed as "too difficult to digest" and that sentiment was not confined to California.

From a latter-day perspective in which many Asian-Americans are tragically linked to a "model minority" myth, it is instructive to recognize how extensive anti-Chinese sentiment was in post-bellum America. The assumption that Chinese immigration had to be prohibited was a supposition widely shared in the American intellectual community. In May, 1870, an anti-Republican magazine, The Old Guard, detailed the destruction of a mythical region of China called "Doodleland," ruled by a despot "Grantpressy" with the surname of "Dent" and energized by the worship of a deity termed "Numberwun," by "a bloody civil war, which weakened them so much that the Chinese, who came among them as emigrants, were enabled to exterminate them." The Old Guard did not suffer cultural diversity in the United States well.

Speaking of what he called "the black fraud known as the 'Fifteenth Amendment,'" C. C. Burr rhetorized in The Old Guard:

> Let it be resisted by the courts of the States. Every judge of election who receives the votes of Indians, Negroes or Chinese, may be instantly arrested for perjury and for violating the Constitution of the State.[34]

The Old Guard's anti-Chinese sentiment was shared within post-Civil War American clergymen, literati, and professionals.

In his congratulations to Angell on the Chinese diplomatic assignment H. O. Houghton, the publisher, recorded his impression of the impact of Chinese culture on America, based on his observations in California: ". . . I beleive (sic) eventually that great good to this country will come from it, if allowed to work its way undisturbed." Other American literati in correspondence with President Angell were less sanguine about the positive contributions of Chinese immigration. To a former missionary in China, Otis Gibson, renunciation of political allegiance to China would not in itself assure these positive contributions. Chinese immigrants, wrote Gibson, would have to surrender the queue, or hair style. A good character "for honesty and industry" together with proficiency in spoken and written English were not sufficient.

> The whole question of Chinese assimilation to our civilization . . . centres (sic) largely in the queue.
>
> It should be well understood that the Chinese fashion of dressing the hair . . . is a badge of loyalty to the reining (sic) dynasty . . . It has now become a settled and universal custom, which marks and separates the Chinese from all other people . . .
>
> So long as this queue is retained so long will he remain a Chinaman. So long as he nurses this badge of allegiance to the Chinese government the Chinaman will make slow progress in adopting the higher forms of our Christian civilization.[35]

In Gibson's ethnocentrism the Chinese government should require those interested in emigration to America to adopt "American costume" and "to lay aside the queue," resulting, he reasoned, in a more than a fifty percent increase in the Chinese immigration rate.[36]

Two days prior to his departure from San Francisco for China, Angell noted without comment Otis Gibson's view favoring Chinese abolition of the queue as a means of encouraging the assimilation of Chinese emigration in the United States.[37] Angell's own views on Chinese immigration, specifically, and the Chinese, generally, were not as demagogic and ethnocentric as those of many contemporaries. As he wrote to President Rutherford B. Hayes' Secretary of State, William M. Evarts, concerning a possible ministerial appointment to China, Angell favored restraint on Chinese emigration to the United States, not its abolition. Indeed, President Angell made his acceptance of cooption to the 1880-1881 China Mission conditional on the Hayes Administration's recognition of a "special exigency" existing between China and the United States over the Chinese immigration issue, in his view, a recognition needed to assure the University of Michigan's Board of Regents that he was not leaving academic life and entering political life permanently. In correspondence between Ann Arbor and Washington, D.C., in the early spring of 1880, to secure that recognition, President Angell vehemently supported restricting Chinese immigration, not its abolition.[38]

In his depiction of the conflicts and misunderstandings which have characterized contacts in a Chinese-American relationship often termed "special," Michael H. Hunt describes the image of the Chinese

in the United States held by President Rutherford B. Hayes and his two immediate successors, James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur, as negative: ". . . (L)ike the views of exclusionists in kind although not in intensity . . . (t)hey saw the Chinese as socially undesirable, unassimilable, and hence a potential menace to the nation."[39] James B. Angell did not share this image of the Chinese in America, although his image of the Chinese in China was not uniformly positive.

On his way to extend New Year's greetings to Prince Kung (1835-1898), head of the Tsungli Yamen, the Chinese Grand Council committee responsible for treaty negotiations with the Angell Commission, Angell recorded his revulsion for certain Chinese funerary practices:

> I saw for the first time one of the dead carts, carrying the bodies of children in rough pine boxes to their burial. The extraordinary belief is cherished here that if a child dies, it is because an evil spirit has taken possession of its body, . . . so the parent loses all interest in the child, casts its body out at the door, and the public cart takes it to some common burial place for these outcasts, and burns it without any burial rites. This is the most repulsive of all the Chinese customs.[40]

At the very least, James B. Angell's attitude toward the Chinese was ambivalent.

Not adverse to recording in his diary "repulsive" Chinese customs or "a man so drunk he could not walk straight . . . (t)he second I have seen in China," Angell was more favorably taken with the life styles of the Chinese in America, life styles, he mused on departing San Francisco for China, not without their problematics.

> On the Chinese question there is deep feeling, but I have found far less difference of opinion among the sensible men than I had expected. Most men--all but two or three whom I met--think there should be some limitation on the immigration, but no one thinks the Chinese now here can be spared or should be ill treated. A large part of the

> feeling is political. The press has not been courageous . . . I walked twice through Chinatown. Nothing was noted which called for special criticism. It is said the town has been recently improved. It is largely the fault of the city authorities that it was not earlier cleansed. But I am assured that although (sic) the Chinese are taxed for cleaning the streets, they have to clean them themselves. So they have to pay a poll tax for education, and yet they are not admitted to the schools.
>
> I am inclined to doubt whether many people who want to work are prevented by the Chinamen from getting it at fair prices. Irish servant girls get $25 a month - Chinese common laborers from $25 to $30 a month.
>
> The issues which have been most raised in the papers, uncleanliness, immorality . . . are . . . of little consequence. The real question is whether in organizing the life and industry of a state you can wisely have a large body of men who have no domestic life, no desire for school or for church, or for civic or political life, practically unassimilated and scarcely assimilable, in the midst of our population. The most thoughtful men I met think not.[41]

"The most thoughtful men" Angell met prior to his China mission belonged to a generation of nineteenth-century Americans subscribing to what John King Fairbank has referred to elsewhere as a "disillusioned view of China": a portrait of a decayed China, "actually sunk in poverty, filth, disease, corruption, and disorder, and apparently unwilling to do anything about it." As Fairbank notes, Chinese in the United States were not viewed in radically differing perspectives: accented scenarios of "Chinese drug addition, prostitution, foot binding, concubinage, and unspeakable vices excited the morbid, while heathen idolatry and sin appalled the devout." While more dedicated to concerns of the "devout" than to anxieties of the "morbid" Angell's commentary on his China mission reflects his deliberate distancing from this "disillusioned" view of China and the Chinese, a view which, given American congressional support through the Chinese exclusion acts of 1882 and later, would result in making

"racism our national policy."[42] Angell, however, was not selected by the Hayes administration to represent Republican Party interests in East Asia solely, or even significantly, because of his pro-Protestant missionary sentiment.

Undoubtedly, James B. Angell's nomination in the spring of 1880, by the Hayes' administration to renegotiate treaties with the Ch'ing (Qing) regime, especially with a view of limiting Chinese emigration to the United States, occurred because of his presence in American higher education; it was not exclusively the result of his long-standing interest in matters Chinese. Together with his co-commissioner in these treaty renegotiations, William H. Trescot, a moderate on the Chinese immigration issue, Angell acknowledged that his selection both to head the American treaty commission in China and the American legation at Beijing was due to his background in education. At a meeting with Secretary of State William M. Evarts at the latter's Washington, D.C. home on March 1, 1880, Angell learned of that rationale for his dual appointment:

> I may say that Mr. E. (William Maxwell Evarts, Secretary of State under President Rutherford B. Hayes, 1877-1881) told Senator Baldwin (Henry Porter Baldwin, United States Senator from Michigan, 1879-1881) that he could not yield to the claim of the Californians to have the minister, and that he had chosen me partly . . . because I represent education, which the Chinese so honor.[43]

President Angell's co-optation into the foreign policy determining structures of the Hayes and Garfield Presidencies is one example of an American academic's selection by the federal government, to reword Philip Selznick's conception of co-optation, in order to forestall threats to the stability of late nineteenth century Republican Party East Asian foreign policy. In Angell's co-optation,

however, it is important to recognize that his selection occurred not exclusively, or even significantly, because he represented what Maurice Kogan has termed elsewhere a "relevant public" viewed as in need of accessibility to the Presidency. Rather, he was, as Michael H. Hunt reminds us, selected because of his moderate views on the Chinese immigration issue.

> Though he (Angell) favored exclusion, he also denigrated western demands as excessive and demagogic . . . The mission was . . . constructed so that Angell's views would prevail while California would retain a voice.[44]

However moderate he was on the question of Chinese immigration to the United States, President Angell pursued treaty renegotiation with the Ch'ing Empire at what later historians of the Angell mission to China would view as other than moderate pace.

A month prior to his meeting Angell on the wharf of Tientsin (Tianjin), Chester Holcombe, missionary, self-styled expert on Chinese affairs, and Secretary of the American Legation at Beijing, 1871-1882, wrote to the newly appointed Minister Plenipotaetiary enclosing a plan of the Minister's residence in Beijing. Sharing with Angell his perception that the outgoing American minister to China, George Frederick Seward, was overpricing personally owned furniture, reserved in the legation for Angell's possible purchase, Holcombe tendered as well his view that the Angell mission was beginning work at an auspicious period of Ch'ing Empire domestic and foreign relations.

> It is true that the tendency between China and Russia for the past few months has been decidedly warlike, but there has been no special excitement in Peking, in fact this city has been as quiet as I have known it to be in 11 years. And within a week the Emperor has, through the influence of the proforeign party, been brought to revoke the sentence of decapitation passed upon Chunghou, so that matters are much

> more peaceful . . . than at anytime since last January. If the Russian question affects the negotiations of the Commission..., it will most likely affect them favorably. So far as my experience with this Government goes, it shows that the Chinese are most amenable to reason when they are a little frightened.[45]

Whether or not the Chinese were "a little frightened," the Angell Commission convinced Li Hung-chang (1823-1901), head of self-strengthening and proforeign factions in the late-nineteenth century Ch'ing Empire, and Prince Kung (1835-1898), head (1861-1884) of the office (Yamen) responsible for negotiating treaties, of the need to restrict Chinese emigration to the United States.

Little convincing, however, was necessary. On his return to Washington, D.C. following relatively untrammeled negotiation of two treaties with the Ch'ing Empire, Commissioner William Henry Trescot reminded Angell that critics viewed the Commissioner's work as of little consequence.

> . . . (T)here are those who prefer . . . not to recognize our work as a success and to ratify the Treaties as to be tolerated rather than commended. It is so easy to hint imperfections and suggest improvements - all the more easy, as our unexpected quickness of action can be made to give colour (sic) to the inference that our work was exceptionally easy.[46]

Trescot informed Angell that, while the American press praised the result of the mission to China, journalistic accounts credited its success to former President Ulysses S. Grant's summer 1879 tour of East Asia and "to his . . . influence with the Emperors of China, Japan and Siam and to the 'romantic friendship' existing between him and Li Hung-chang. "Doubtful of United States Senate ratification of the two treaties, Trescot mused his wish that "having done our work creditably I am willing to wait patiently and philosophically for the Senate to do theirs."[47]

In mid-July 1881, Angell announced that the two treaties negotiated between the Ta Tsing (Qing) Empire and the United States the previous autumn had been ratified by the President of the United States and the Emperor of China. Rising at 5 a.m. and journeying to Beijing on what he described as a "very hot ride," Angell exchanged ratifications of the "Treaty upon Chinese Immigration to the United States" and of "Treaty upon certain commercial and judicial matters" in the presence of "nearly all the Yamen . . . (who) were in excellent spirits."[48]

Following the exchange of treaty ratifications with Emperor Kuang-hsu, Angell spent a two- and one-half months residency at the American Legation in Beijing fulfilling rather routine Ministerial duties prior to his departure for the long journey home on October 4, 1881. Viceroy Li Hung-chang congratulated Angell on the latter's role in authoring an opium clause (Article II) in the commercial treaty; the American government was especially pleased with Article I of the immigration treaty. Angell's efforts, together with those of his co-commissioners, Swift and Trescot, and the Chinese signatories to the treaty, Pao Chün and Li Hung-tsao, had secured Chinese agreement with American exclusionary demands that the United States government "regulate, limit, or suspend" the emigration of Chinese laborers to or the residence of Chinese laborers in the United States if either of these actions "affects, or threatens to affect, the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order of the said country, or of any locality within the territory thereof."[49]

In less than 150 words the Angell mission to China had succeeded in negating the policy of free emigration given force of law between

China and the United States 13 years earlier in the Seward-Burlingame Treaty. As a later scholar of nineteenth century American-Chinese diplomatic relations would suggest, the Angell immigration treaty became "the first step toward the ultimate abandonment . . . of the American role as asylum to the world's oppressed and impoverished." Speaking in terms more specific to Chinese-American relations, Michael H. Hunt continues:

> (T)he (Angell) treaty was a watershed--bringing to a close the era of free immigration and opening a contentious period in which the Chinese fought against an increasingly far-reaching and rigorous American exclusion policy shaped by popular prejudice and political expediency.[50]

If the Angell mission to China's success in treaty negotiation contributed to the development of an American foreign policy and diplomatic relations with China shaped by "popular prejudice and political expediency," what were its results and consequences for the development of the University of Michigan, in particular, and the shaping of American higher education, more generally?

Recall Angell's dictum of June 4, 1880, to his Detroit, Michigan, friends: "I have accepted (The Ministerial appointment to China) because I have thought it might be, . . . in some respects, advantageous to that institution (the University of Michigan)." Was Angell's co-opted one-and-a-half-year absence in China of benefit to the University of Michigan? In his commentary on "The Administration of James Burrill Angell" in Wilfred B. Shaw's The University of Michigan: An Encyclopedic Survey, Allen S. Whitney wrote of Angell's mission to China: "His successful mission and personal popularity in China was (sic) quickly followed by the enrollment of large numbers of Chinese students in the University."[51]

The demography of Chinese student enrollment at the University of Michigan in the years immediately following the Angell mission to China belies Whitney's view of "the enrollment of large numbers . . . " In his presidential report to the University's Board of Regents for the 1889-1890 academic year Angell remarked: "It is indeed a cosmopolitan company that assembles in our halls. "Students from China would not help to shape that "cosmopolitan company" until the 1892-1893 academic year when two Chinese women, accompanied by American missionaries from China, attended the University's Medical Department--an event to which Angell attached singular importance.

> So far as I know they are, with a single exception, the first Chinese women who have ever left their native land for the purpose of study. The importance of such an experiment can hardly be overestimated.[52]

Over the remaining sixteen years of President Angell's administration at the University of Michigan Chinese student enrollment remained relatively constant, yet minuscule. Strongly evocative of current Chinese Government efforts to limit Chinese student enrollment in American universities, the Chinese Educational Mission to the United States (1872-1881) was recalled to China by the Yamen, in spite of Angell's efforts to prevent that outcome, at the conclusion of his brief tenure as United States Minister to China; Chinese student enrollment at the University of Michigan and elsewhere in the West generally suffered as a result of critics' claims, then as now, that such exposure contributed to cultural deracination.[53] The impact of the Angell mission to China on the University of Michigan, specifically, and American higher education, more generally, must be located in sources other than the demography of Chinese student

enrollments in American universities at the end of the nineteenth century.

James B. Angell's two-volume diary of the China Mission, his wife's (Sarah Caswell Angell, 1851-1903) twelve-volume diary of that Mission, and his daughter's (Lois Thompson Angell--referred to as "Daisy") three-volume diary of what she would term her "eventful year" in China--all seventeen volumes provide us not only with glimpses of late nineteenth China and other countries visited during Angell's co-option to the American Legation in Beijing; they represent "a form of autobiography," as the novelist and travel writer, Paul Theroux, has written elsewhere of his policy of only writing diaries when traveling.[54] As forms of autobiography the Sarah Caswell Angell, Lois Thompson Angell, and James Burrill Angell diaries provide us with autobiographical glimpses of three late-nineteenth-century Americans coming to cosmopolitan understandings of late-nineteenth-century Imperial China. These cosmopolitan understandings were central to an enlarged sense of global issues with which Angell resumed his presidential responsibilities at Ann Arbor in February, 1882.

In his June 25, 1896, commencement address President Angell spoke of "our duty" to establish an arbitral arrangement for the settlement of international difficulties. Angell couched his concern in a language of cosmopolitanism which must have appeared oddly out-of-step with a national mood about to erupt into a jingoistic war with Spain.

> Remembering that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men,' what higher honor can we wish for our people than that they should add to all their triumphs in the industrial arts and in the establishment of force and republican institutions the splendid triumph of teaching all nations to live together as brothers under the blessed command of the Prince of Peace.[55]

Angell's cosmopolitanism, if not marred by a strident nationalism, was defined within the boundaries of a Messianic Christianity. Members of the Angell family resident in China, 1880-1881, likewise placed their growing regard for the Chinese in non-secular terms.

Sarah Caswell Angell, for 26 years president of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Ann Arbor Congregational Church and for seven years president of the Michigan branch of the Women's Board of Missions of the Interior, shared with her husband increased regard for the Chinese rooted in her Christian mien. In her correspondence and diaries written during her sojourn in China, Sarah Angell reveals a growing regard for the Chinese. Initially viewing herself as a "terrible disappointment to your Father because I cannot find the strange wonderful things I see any true compensation for what I miss so constantly," Sarah Angell finds little to savor in her Chinese experience at its outset.

> There is nothing in the world attractive in the Chinese. What they put out of their hands is handsome, but their manner of accomplishing work, their habits of life and their personality are utterly repulsive . . . If I were asked my private opinion I should say there is only one reason why I should ever give them a second thought and that is they are God's children . . . (M)y admiration for this great people does not grow with my acquaintance with them . . . Yesterday I went through the Chinese market here and I have been a little nauseated ever since. The dirt of every kind, the foulest you can conceive the crowds of people (sic) the idleness, the poverty, the perfect indifference to any improvement and the sort of impertinent curiosity made me feel this sort of poison more than ever. It all seems so hopeless.[56]

However deep-rooted these or other conventional end-of-the-nineteenth-century Western touristic complaints in Sarah Caswell Angell's perception at the beginning of her stay in the American Legation at Beijing, and strongly held they were, that

perception became more cosmopolitan near the conclusion of her Chinese sojourn.

Initially dreading her stay in Beijing ("My hope is that our stay may be of the shortest."), Sarah Caswell Angell, in a relatively brief period of time, developed both a positive regard for the Chinese, generally, and her experiences in China, specifically. Perhaps the nadir of Mrs. Angell's residency at the American legation in Beijing occurred on Sunday, January 9, 1881, during a New Year's visit to the United States compound by Yamen officials.

> (T)he compound is full of Mandarin chairs, and Chinese attendants with their great fur caps and sheep and goat skin robes. Then some fellows are . . . spitting and smoking . . . and flattening their noses against the windows, and ringing the doorbell and cracking their idiotic jokes, while Daisy [Lois Thompson Angell] and I are sitting far back in the room with the curtains as tightly drawn as we can have them (sic) wishing that the official interview was over and that we could have our . . . light enough to work comfortably.[57]

This self-imposed isolation from the Yamen masked a growing ambivalence Sarah Caswell Angell expressed toward Chinese culture. The Chinese, she began to assert, were not all that bad.

At first Sarah Caswell Angell expressed her increasing regard for the Chinese in negative phrasing. In the autumn of 1880, she confided to her multivolume diary: "It is astonishing in spite of inward protests to see how much I am becoming accustomed to the street scenes in China, . . . now I no longer see so many disagreeable things but the . . . curious things present themselves." To her daughter-in-law she wrote: "Oh Fanny dear my heart . . . jumps at the idea of returning (to Ann Arbor) and yet we have had a very enjoyable time here, if you and Eck (her eldest son, Alexis Caswell Angell) were here I could stand all other year . . . I am afraid we shall go away and

leave a number of things unseen that we ought to see, for the weather is so hot that we dread exposing ourselves to the sun."[58] Like her husband's view of China and the Chinese, Sarah Caswell Angell's growing regard for East Asia, however ambivalently expressed, was situated within the contours of a Messianic Christianity.[59] That regard, moreover, was rooted in Sarah Caswell Angell's ambivalence at being in China.

A constant theme throughout Sarah Caswell Angell's China diaries is her concern for her purpose of living in China, however briefly. Was she merely a part of the Angell mission's entourage? Nowhere does she state this concern more eloquently than in her diary entry for January 31, 1881:

> Many a time I wonder how I came to be here, or rather why Mr. Angell was called to this post. I have not yet felt that it was unwise to accompany him since his residence was to be here for months, but if we could have foreseen that the great business of the Treaties could have been accomplished in the time it was . . . we would have remained . . . at home. I recognize the . . . advantage there is to me in this new experience but I feel that I am not up to the position, it seems as if I ought to make my influence as a Christian woman dominant . . . But after all why do I speculate on the impression I make, it is only a form of vaniety (sic). The Dear Lord himself knows and pities the infirmities of his servants and since I believe I am his servant I rest content.[60]

Alarmed at many facets of Chinese life, the "poisonous" atmosphere of Chinese cities in summer and the treatment of Chinese manpower transportation as beasts of burden, to name two contours of life in East Asia she found notably invidious, Sarah Caswell Angell, at the conclusion of her Beijing sojourn, ultimately regarded her experience in China as "most charming." As she informed her daughter-in-law a month prior to departure from Beijing for home, drawbacks occurring

during the Angell mission to China "were probably more from within rather than without."[61]

Although it is doubtful whether the Angell's youngest son, James Rowland Angell, experienced culture shock in China to the degree that his mother and sister, "Daisy," did, archival sources support the assumption that the Angell family came to view their experience in China as essentially positive. In his few letters from China which survive eleven-year-old "Jimmy" Angell, later president of Yale University, does not admit his homesickness which worried his mother. Once the American treaty commissioners had left Beijing, young Angell wrote: "we are now quite comfortable (sic) settled . . ." Between games of shuttle-cock with his sister and horseback rides with his father "Jimmy" found time to "pick up quite a little Chinese."[62] Like her brother, seventeen-year-old Lois Thompson Angell, "Daisy," grew to enjoy her China sojourn. Initially overwhelmed by her experiences in China (on her inaugural journey to Beijing, Lois "sat down and had a good cry, just to think what a selfish good for nothing I was to be so lonely and unhappy when I had health, friends and position to make me contented."), "Daisy" became satisfied with her life in China. A little over four months into her Beijing residency she confided to her diary:

> I never supposed I could be so happy so far away from home, or so contented. I am as 'happy as a clown', and if I thought the others as happy as I, should be well content. Unfortunately (sic) they are not so thoroughly acclimated as I and are sometimes rather homesick.[63]

On the anniversary of her arrival in Beijing, Lois T. Angell recorded her joy with the year spent in China: "a year ago . . . we entered Peking and I little thought I should become so attached to the place!

But it has been a very happy year for me and one I would not have missed for anything."[64] James B. Angell's two-volume diary and memoirs do not include rapture at his experiences in China quite as manifestly expressed as his daughter's; rapture, however there is.

Speaking of the pre-World War One American missionary involvement in China, a student of the development of international studies in American universities writes: "If few missionaries actually 'went native,' many had their American loyalties and Christian certainties qualified by their experiences abroad."[65] While James B. Angell's American loyalties and Christian certainties were little changed by his China sojourn, Earl Herbert Cressy's recollections of his own pre-World War One East Asian sojourn seem appropriate to the impact of Angell's residence in Beijing:

> He had come to the Far East with a message that he was on fire to give, but in the process of transmission the East had spoken its message to him. He had gone out to change the East and was returning himself a changed man . . . not only a missionary but an internationalist, an intermediary between the two great civilizations that inhabit the earth.[66]

James B. Angell went to China as a diplomat and, Esson M. Gale reminds us, as an educator. He returned to the United States as an educator and confirmed internationalist.[67]

In 1858, the American missionary and scholar of China, Samuel Wells Williams, informed his American headquarters that he had no wish to return to the United States and wished to remain in China.

> I do not want to go to the U.S., where I can do nothing and have nothing to do it with . . . (I) prefer to stay here, where at least, (sic) I can assist in preaching and where I am at home.[68]

For reasons of health Samuel Wells Williams eventually returned to the United States and took up residence in New Haven, Connecticut, until

his death in 1884. The Angells and Williams were in contact prior to the Angells' journey to China; James B. Angell would not share Samuel Wells Williams' desire to remain in China. As Angell recalled in his The Reminiscences of James Burrill Angell, the decision to leave China and diplomatic life was, however certain, not without regret.

> Although I had found my diplomatic labors attractive in many respects, and should perhaps have been disposed to continue in the service, if ministers could have counted on a permanent tenure, I decided to return to my academic duties . . . The life at Peking in our time was so remote from the rest of the world that the friendships found there were very close. It was not without deep emotion that we parted from those whose society had been so dear to us.[69]

On leaving Beijing for home on Tuesday, October 4, 1881, Angell viewed his year's sojourn in China and it benefits tersely: "There is very much in the year's new experiences which we shall ever cherish most fondly in memory."[70]

Two of the "new experiences" Angell encountered in China were indigenous Chinese educational policies and first-hand observation of schools established by foreign missionaries. Although somewhat skeptical of Chinese educational objectives, Angell was impressed with Chinese accents on scholarship and Western missionary strategies in education. Angell's diary entry for April 7, 1881, contains the phrase: "Reading on Chinese Education." He did not vicariously experience indigenous Chinese educational practices while in China to the exclusion of direct observation of those practices. In speaking of a family visit to a Jesuit observatory in Beijing his daughter wrote:

> Near us was the examination hall where candidates for the highest literary degree take the triennial examination. I have never been there, but Papa told me that there are

> 13,000 cells in it, where the candidates are shut up singly, like convicts, while the examination is in progress.[71]

In Angell's view the Chinese were "equally distinguished for industry, frugality, business talent and high scholarship."[72] His views on the educational efforts of Western Missionaries in China were similarly positive.

"We find that we cannot very well mingle the diplomatic corps with the missionaries (sic) in some respects they are antagonistic." So wrote Sarah Caswell Angell home. "But" she added[73] "we always get on well with our missionary friends." Proud of the fact that American missionaries called less on him for help than their British counterparts called on his British counterpart, Sir Thomas Wade, for assistance, James B. Angell applauded the Western Missionary effort in China:

> Quite apart from any consideration of their religious activity the influence our missionaries have exerted in preparing the way for the great change now going on in China can hardly be overestimated. A considerable number of the young men just sent to this country [the United States] have received their training in the missionary schools. Each missionary station has furnished an illustration of the western learning they are coveting.[74]

So Angell wrote in 1912, shortly after the demise of the Ch'ing monarchy. During his year-and-a-half residence in Beijing Angell became a strong advocate of missionary efforts in education.

Whether dedicating a Tianjin hospital, founded by Viceroy Li Hung-chang out of gratitude for health services rendered his wife by an University of Michigan graduate and medical missionary; occasionally visiting a Chinese-founded and American-administered diplomacy college under the temporary charge of Sir Robert Hart, the Irish-born head of the Chinese Imperial Customs; observing the

workings of American Mission boarding schools for the Chinese ("The boys study aloud. They sleep there in a room on Kangs."[75]); or listening to adumbrations of teaching methods used in mission schools ("(I)n the Mission schools children who do not know characters, when taught in a rational way, learn to read the New Testament in 6 months, whereas in the ordinary methods of teaching they study three years learning characters without knowing the meaning."[76]), James B. Angell did not record any notion that such educational efforts might contribute to anti-Western sentiment in China. In his activities such as addressing the Peking Missionary Association on American higher education, Angell consistently supported the importance of introducing Christian thought to China, although he did not rule out altogether the importance of Confucian thought for ordering Chinese life. When he heard his secretary to the American Legation at Beijing exclaim that Confucius had not produced original thought, Angell noted: "This makes the reverence for him very extraordinary I think."[77]

Angell's view of the success of missionary efforts in China was more unqualified than were the perceptions of his wife and daughter. Wrote Sarah Caswell Angell after learning that American missionaries were subject to local opposition: "Anyone who says that the Chinese are gasping for the Gospel speaks without the book."[78] Confided Lois T. Angell to her diary soon after arrival in China:

> I wish I could feel more of an interest in the Chinese and get back again the feeling of enthusiasm and hope I used to have when in our missionary meetings at home I read the letters from this field. . . . (W)hen you are right on the ground, the work seems discouraging enough. The people are so stolid and regard all new teaching in so contemptous (sic) a way that I should feel strongly tempted to say: 'Well, if you don't like my religion, keep yours.'[79]

"Daisy's" views, as her mother's, are perhaps better viewed within the agendas of Ann Arbor missionary meetings than they are within the contours of the early 1880's American missionary effort in China. It is equally appropriate, however, to suggest that James B. Angell's tenure in Beijing strongly aided that effort. Although he would note on returning from a visit to a Buddhist monastery twelve miles outside of Beijing that "children in the villages used insulting language to us,"[80] Angell viewed missionary efforts in education as sound. Seemingly unaware of any missionary contribution to anti-foreign sentiment, Angell quoted but did not comment on an anonymous Chinese official's dictum: "'(W)e are all living in peace here, but none of us knows how soon in some excitement our houses may all be in flames.'"[81] However interested James B. Angell became in a multiplicity of educational efforts in China during his absence from Ann Arbor, he remained very keen on developments at the University of Michigan under acting President Henry S. Frieze.

On Sunday, June 27, 1880, James B. Angell, now just over 1,634 miles into his journey to China, recorded in his diary: "Baccalaureate Sunday at Univ. We had a pleasant service in the cabin."[82] That he should think to note University calendar dates of significance perhaps indicates the nostalgia with which he assumed his Beijing responsibilities. Reference specifically to the University of Michigan in his correspondence and diary and those of his immediate family during the Angell sojourn in Beijing is minimal. In the early spring of 1881, he learned that the Michigan legislature had appropriated $160,000 for the University and that Austin Blair (1818-1894), Michigan's Civil War Governor, and James Frederick Joy

(1810-1896), a president of the Michigan Central Railroad, had been nominated for full eight-year terms as Regents of the University. Angell also learned the same day that the extension of his leave from the University presidency requested the previous January was approved by the University's trustees, collectively termed the "Board of Regents." This day, April 11, 1881, was, as Angell put it, "a bright one for Univy news."[83]

Angell's absence from the University of Michigan during his China mission was a relatively tranquil period in University development. While the University's mission was enhanced undoubtedly by the hiring of Mortimer E. Cooley, an Annapolis graduate, to teach mechanical engineering and naval architecture, University morale was improved by termination of the contentious Douglas-Rose controversy. This controversy, inaugurated in 1875, with the discovery that assistant professor Preston B. Rose had allegedly withheld funds, as had presumably his superior professor, Silas H. Douglas, from the University's Chemistry Laboratory fund, had long energized University temperaments. The Michigan Supreme Court's January, 1881, ruling in Douglas' favor was warmly received by the Angells in China. In regard to what she refers to as "the great case," Sarah Caswell Angell wrote:

> The decision of the Supreme Court . . . is wholly good. I hope that before this the Regents have dismissed from the University a man [Rose] who now stands condemned by the Supreme Tribunal of the State. This case has tried the mettle of more than me and I am sure that the University will not now be for a while at least the political scapegoat. Mrs. Douglas I am sure knows of her husband's joy and sees with 'larger . . . eyes than ours.'[84]

If James B. Angell's distance from Ann Arbor during his residency in China provided him with an opportunity to view matters pertaining to the University of Michigan, specifically, or American higher education,

more generally, through what his wife referred to as "larger eyes," archival sources yield little support.

What little correspondence between James B. Angell and University of Michigan officials has survived from Angell's China mission includes no extensive exegeses of University goals or mission; the focus is on the rather mundane day-to-day functioning of the University. Example: Shortly after the Angells had assumed Ministerial duties in Beijing, Thomas McIntyre Cooley (1824-1898), Professor in and Dean of the University of Michigan's Law Department, Judge of the State of Michigan Supreme Court, and frequent Angell confidant, wrote Angell a letter beginning with the caveat: "In the multitude of letters you will receive with this the little I have to say will be excused."[85] And Cooley had little to say! Aside from family health matters (. . . it has been a monotony of good health . . . only broken by a few shakes of the ague with Charley after a canoe trip down the Huron to its mouth and up the Detroit."), internecine squabbling within the Republican Party ("The most discouraging fact is that Republicans are beginning to quarrel."), and trustee tiffs at Ann Arbor (". . . Duffield at the last meeting of the Regents asked and obtained a secret session for the purpose of showing up the incompetency of Prescott . . ."), Cooley informed his boss in absentia about Law Department demography:

> About 80 law students are now here. The first result of our rule respecting examinations is that a better class of men are coming. I have advised some men . . . requesting information that they must have better education, and I have so far had occasion to reject but three. We get a larger proportion of college graduates, and I am inclined to think that in the end we shall lose in attendance very little.[86]

In China the Angells were more anxious at the prospect that President Hayes might nominate Judge Cooley for appointment to the United States Supreme Court, an appointment that would be the University's loss, than they were at the zigzags of Law Department demography. The same mail that brought news of Professor Douglas's vindication by the Michigan State Supreme Court also informed the Angells that Judge Cooley would not be nominated for a United States Supreme Court justice appointment. Wrote eighteen-year-old Lois T. Angell of this bit of news from home: "I am both sorry and glad; sorry he should lose an honor so well deserved and glad to have him stay with us."[87] Thomas McIntyre Cooley did remain in Ann Arbor and for a time (1885-1887) became Dean of a School of Political Science which, after Cooley's departure to become the first head of President Cleveland's Interstate Commerce Commission, ceased to flourish.

It is unfortunate that James B. Angell's correspondence home during his China sojourn contains little that directly reflects his concerns with the University. He makes no mention of the School of Political Science, founded under the Deanship of Charles Kendall Adams, the person chiefly responsible for introducing the historische gesellschaft (historical seminar) at the University, in 1881. The teaching of diplomatic history, government, and international law were priorities on President Angell's University agenda. Throughout his 38-year career at Ann Arbor Angell was very much the teaching president, especially in the fields of diplomatic history and international law. His silence from China on the new School of Political Science seems all the more peculiar because of

this interest. There is an exception to this silence: a reference to Henry Carter Adams. In his letter to the University's Board of Regents dated January 14, 1881, Angell asked for an extension of his leave of absence until the end of the year or the beginning of 1882. Adams, an 1878 Johns Hopkins University doctoral graduate in economics was then employed at Cornell University and soon to incur the enmity of Harry Sage for perspectives on the American railroad industry. Wrote Angell to the University of Michigan Board of Regents:

> In case I cannot get to my work by the beginning of the first term, it would be necessary to provide for some instruction which I give. I should prefer that the Pol. Economy be provided for by the appointment of Mr. Henry C. Adams if his work proves satisfactory this year, and that he teach it in the first term, leaving me to take my Int'l (sic) Law the second term.[88]

When Angell returned to Ann Arbor in February, 1882, following a meandering trip through western Europe designed to acquaint his daughter, son, and wife with a part of the world he had earlier learned to enjoy, he returned as committed to his role as a teaching university president as he was prior to his China venture. He would teach diplomatic history and international law for the remainder of his presidential tenure; he would teach about China.

Earlier I cited Earl Herbert Cressy's view of the missionary as an "internationalist": a person who becomes "an intermediary between the two great civilizations that inhabit the earth."[89] Angell's careers at Ann Arbor and at Beijing certainly point to his serving as an "intermediary" between the United States and China. Those careers also point to his career activity and interest in being an interpreter of American culture to the Chinese and of Chinese culture to the Americans - a role he obviously relished.

James B. Angell's "internationalist" career antedates what Robert A. McCaughey has termed elsewhere, borrowing from Edward Shils, the "institutionalization" and, especially following the Second World War, the "enclosure" of international studies in the American university. His "internationalist" career also antedated the careers of those who would make the professional study of China the central focus of their federal government employment at the State Department; William W. Rockhill, Secretary of State John Hay's chief advisor on China, 1899-1905, and Stanley K. Hornbeck, a University of Wisconsin Ph.D. in international relations, appointed as chief of the State Department's Far Eastern desk in 1921, come to mind.[90]

James B. Angell, in the growing positive ambience of his family life in Beijing, an ambience defined by an increasing tolerance toward the Chinese, eagerly studied China and the Chinese language. He had a mentor at hand for aid in studying the Chinese language: Sir Thomas Francis Wade (1818-1895), British Minister (1978-1883) and sinologue in Beijing, author of the famous Chinese language textbook, Tzu Erh Ch.i, familiar to early twentieth-century non-native speakers of the Chinese language. Sir Thomas Wade became Angell's teacher and confidant, figuring prominently in the Angell diaries. A typical diary entry reads in part:

> Studied Chinese in a.m. Breakfast with Sir Thomas to talk on Chinese Grammar (sic). He had invited Dr. Edkins Messrs Hillier and Wherry to meet me (sic). A pleasant chat on languages in general and on Chinese especially. The difficulty accounting to almost impossibility of reducing Chinese grammar to our categories was recognized . . . Sir T. called on me in the p.m. and we continued the grammatical chat.[91]

Angell also delighted in informing his Chinese contacts of the vicissitudes of American political life. After reaching Tianjin in

early August, 1880, Angell met Viceroy Li Hung-chang for the first time. Between puffs from a long water pipe, the Viceroy

> . . . soon began to ask why Grant was not nominated. I told him (1) however it might be in China, in America men who had been in high office had made enemies (sic) (2) other men's friends wanted them elected, (3) there was a strong feeling against the third term. This last idea he could not comprehend. He repeatedly said that a man who had served twice was better fitted for the place.[92]

On his return from China to Ann Arbor, Angell actively sought to teach a new generation of University students about East Asia. He became an energetic interpreter of China in the United States.

On his return from China and the resumption of his teaching presidency at the University of Michigan James B. Angell never tired of reminding his listeners that China merited serious study. As he put it in his "sometimes difficult . . . often . . . terse and epigrammatic [styled]" handwriting, "(s)urely such a country and such a people deserve to be studied especially by those who call themselves scholars."[93] Fortunately a few of the lectures Angell prepared have survived and permit us entry to his views of the waning days of Imperial China.

Handwritten on the reverse sides of a form letter sent by President Angell in early May, 1874, to parents of sons suspended "from the privileges of the University until the beginning of the next academic year" for "the confessed offense of hazing and . . . conduct which was practically an interference with the government of the University, "three lectures survive: "China and the Chinese," "Peking and its Environs," "Relations of Western Powers to China and Japan" (a lecture delivered on July 15, 1884), and "France, China, and the Vatican." While space does not permit a complete textual analysis of

each lecture, a comment on themes running through the three may indicate accents Angell placed on his interpretations of China.

"China and the Chinese" is a brief introduction to Chinese customs, forms of governance, and business practices, together with Angell's views on the Chinese character, a central trait being "excessive greed for money." He is likewise very negatively taken with the Chinese forms of education ("with their unconquerable pride in their peculiar learning, they look with undisguised contempt on all western learning.") and governance, changes in the latter which Angell viewed as hopeful signs of China's promise.

> . . . (A)s the Chinese have . . . changed their govt, from royalty to feudalism and from feudalism to monarchy, as they have received in succession the rule of several dynasties, Chinese, and Tartar, and Manchu, we may hope that change and progress are not impossible to them, and that Christian civilization (sic) may yet enter the Middle Kingdom . . .[94]

Angell's Western-centered perspectives on Chinese culture strongly supported the presence of Protestant missionaries in China.

In his lecture, "France, China and the Vatican," apparently delivered in the mid-1880s, (some of the lecture is handwritten on the reverse side of form letter instructions regarding the scheduling of entrance examinations to the University's literary department held in Chicago, Illinois, and Dubuque, Iowa on June 29 and 30, 1886), Angell discussed the issue of whether French missionaries in China were to be under the protection of France or under the protection of the Pope. Angell opted for the latter, thinking of the security of Protestant missionaries.

> If they are to be under the care of France, as they have been in the past, the danger of a display of force in support of their claims and consequently the danger of disturbing friction leading to popular tumult among the Chinese is probably greater than it would be if the Pope

> were to be the official guardian of their interests. And if an excitement is stirred against the Roman Catholic missionaries anywhere, it is always likely to bring peril to the Protestant missionaries ad to all foreigners.[95]

Angell's lectures, however, in the United States do not reflect solely a Western-centered perspective.

In a lecture delivered on July 15, 1884, "Relations of Western Powers to China and Japan," Angell commented on the Franco-Chinese conflict of 1883-1884, a war in which France demanded a sizable war indemnity. Speaking of French gun diplomacy under the direction of Prime Minister Jules Ferry, Angell stated:

> They have made from the beginning the sad mistake of regarding China as a "quantité negligeable," and have underrated the opposition to be encountered from the Annamese [Vietnamese] themselves. They have frittered away their strength by sending small detachments, which were inadequate for the work. In dealing with oriental natures it is all important to strike hard at the outset, if one strikes at all.[96]

Not that Angell was opposed to a Western presence in China.

In Angell's view China could not remain isolated from "the intercourse of states." "The blessings of western civilization," inclusive of "in costumes, our cooking, our domestic customs, our telegraphs and railways, newspapers, labor-saving machines, our religion, our political ideas," were "pressed" upon China too abruptly. However, until such time as China would contribute to the welfare of human society, it was appropriate that western nations exercise extraterritorial jurisdiction in China within "all the safeguards known to our system of jurisprudence."[97] [Emphasis added] Quite apart from his pro-Western jurisprudence posture, Angell was a staunch opponent of Britain's policy of exporting Indian opium to

China, "the most flagrant and long-continued curse of injustice practiced in the East."[98]

In language reminiscent of current frustrations over lack of success in ending contemporary illegal dissemination of drugs, Angell wrote:

> But so long as the country is supplied with foreign opium,it is very difficult to enforce [anti-opium laws]. Especially since not a few officials have themselves become addicted to the habit of smoking opium, and others are open to the bribes which the great profits of the trade and the passion for the drug stimulate men to offer . . ., (sic) it is not easy for the authorities to suppress the growth of the plant.[99]

Concluding his remarks on the relations between Western nations and East Asia, Angell envisaged a time when the West would yield extraterritorial rights in China. The Chinese would have to meet certain conditions, however.

> While insisting that these nations [China and Japan] should recognize their duty to human society by the proper maintenance of political, social and commercial relations with the rest of the world, . . . they must yield a portion of their sovereignty so long as . . . peculiarities of their institutions make this surrender necessary.[100]

Notes he made on Beijing and its environs are less than favorable as well.

Unfair as it is to infer opinion from desultory notes, James B. Angell's lectures on Beijing accented negative characteristics of Chinese urban life. Taken as he was with temples of the Imperial City and the history of the Forbidden City, Angell found contemporary Beijing's streets of one-story houses "forbidding" and Beijing's rows of plastered walls "monotonous." His general impressions of the city were:

> (D)ecay, wall(s) and public structures, arches tumbling down - drains public nuisances, no attempt to repair them,

> streets practicable only for huge carts and stifling with dust . . . always reeking with intolerable odors from the . . . habits of the people . . . Evidence of decline of population. One century and two centuries ago splendid according to Chinese ideals but now so dilapidated . . . that every foreigner is thankful when the day comes to leave it. Unless he is to go to some other China city.[101]

Hardly the information for printing in travel brochures.

Angell's papers not only include these impressions of China, impressions which might be identified appropriately as creations of a "mid-Victorian outlook;" he also wrote colorful and preceptive comments on participants in domestic and foreign policies of China during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Of General Charles "Chinese" Gordon, commander of the Ever Victorious Army during the Taiping Rebellion, he wrote:

> I had in imagination pictured him to myself as a gigantic red faced loud-voiced (sic) Englishman, a sort of . . . swash-buckler, an adventurer who loved fighting as a profession, judge of my surprise when there was introduced to me as General Gordon a man rather small in stature, with a sweet and gentle face, a voice low and tender, almost effeminate . . . His appearance at once gave me a deep impression of the sincerity and earnestness of character.[102]

Angell remained throughout his life a major interpreter of Chinese life.

James B. Angell's career as an "internationalist" may have began on December 10, 1851, when he received United States passport number 2394 signed by Secretary of State Daniel Webster. Angell would combine his academic and international interests following his China venture by serving on President Grover A. Cleveland's Anglo-American Northwestern Fisheries Commission (1887) and Canadian-American Deep Waterways Commission (1896). In President William McKinley's short-lived administration he would serve as Envoy Extraordinary and

Minister Plenipotentiary to Turkey. He would remain to the end of his life very much the diplomat. Wrote The Detroit News Tribune on Angell's death in April, 1916:

> Up to the time of his death Dr. Angell lost none of the diplomacy which marked his career as the representative of the United States. If it was a question involving the adjustment of a difficulty in the university faculty or in the rank and file of the students (sic) he was supreme and the question was as neatly and deftly dispatched as if it were one which involved the destiny of nations, and as a general thing both sides rose up and called him blessed.[103]

It was also characteristic of Angell that in his letter of resignation to the University's Board of Regents requesting that his presidential duties cease after October 1, 1909, he closed with this wish: "Should you so desire I should be willing to continue to give instruction in international law."[104]

In his appraisal of the Angell years at the University of Michigan, the longtime editor of The Michigan Alumnus, Wilfred Shaw wrote: "To James Burrill Angell must be given a pre-eminent place among those who have made advanced learning for the young people of the land a matter of course."[105] In Angell's view "advanced learning" had to include a knowledge of East Asia. His China mission, 1880-1881, strengthened his role as an internationalist. It was a role in which he combined and did not separate his interests in diplomacy and education.

In his review of Laurence R. Veysey's The Emergence of the American University, Daniel J. Boorstin, former Librarian of Congress, stated that "the historical portrait of the American college and university president remains to be drawn." Boorstin chronicled the lives of those Americans who developed educational missions in China, for example, John Franklin Goucher, a founder of the Women's College

of Baltimore, Maryland (now named Goucher College), and the Isabella Fisher Hospital in Tianjin, visited by James B. Angell on his departure from China. Boorstin did not chronicle, however, the perspectives of American educators towards such missions as that of Goucher's in China. The fact that Angell viewed the opening of Goucher's hospitals a "beneficent result of the contact of Eastern and Western life" tells us something of the nature of East-West relations in late nineteenth-century China; it also tells us something about Angell the inveterate internationalist.[106] To recognize James Burrill Angell's commitment to late nineteenth-century American internationalism is to aid in developing a historical portrait of his University presidency and his contribution to turn-of-the-century American higher education.

James Burrill Angell's 1880-1881 China mission was a contributing factor to his internationalist perspective on world affairs. The National Governors' Association recently stated (1989) that "all college and university graduates must be knowledgeable about the broader world and conversant in another language." At a time when knowledge of global affairs is under attack and knowledge of world affairs is centered in the United States on the west, we need to accent traditions in American higher education centered on and shaped by the internationalist perspectives of teaching presidents in our nineteenth-century universities like James B. Angell. In form, if not content, these individuals pointed to a necessity to understand global affairs. If their views of internationalism were flawed seriously by Eurocentric allegiances, and in no small degree these allegiances compelled misunderstanding of the East Asian experience, late

nineteenth-century American educators like James Burrill Angell refused to disregard what that experience could teach us about the human condition.[107]

Anthony Lewis, correspondent for The New York Times, has recently commented on the two weeks at the end of May and beginning of June, 1989, that culminated in the Tiananmen Square massacre in Beijing and American abhorrence of that event:

> One other factor must go into American thinking. That is the extent to which the Chinese working for change have drawn on American ideals - communicated by, among others, the 40,000 Chinese students in this country.[108]

However pleased James Burrill Angell would be at the number of Chinese students studying currently in the United States, he perhaps would have added to Lewis's dictum that the Chinese working for change were drawing on Chinese ideals as well.

Footnotes

[1]James. B. Angell, The President's Report of the Board of Regents, for the Year Ending Sept. 30, 1885 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1885), p. 3).

[2]Daniel Coit Gilman to James B. Angell April 13, 1880. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 2, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan (hereafter cited as MHC, BHL).

[3]Wilford Shaw, The University of Michigan (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920), p. 67.

[4]Ibid., pp. 70, 75.

[5]Howard H. Peckham, The Making of the University of Michigan, 1817-1967 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1967), p. 113. For an excellent brief account of the foundation of the Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania and its brief history under the presidency of the Reverend John Monteith, see F. Clever Bald's Gabriel Richard: The First Vice-President of the University of Michigan. Michigan Historical Collections, Bulletin No. 2 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, January, 1967), passim.

[6]Howard H. Peckham, The Making of the University of Michigan, 1817-1967, pp. 80, 96.

[7]Burke A. Hinsdale, History of the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan 1906), p. 75.

[8]Shirley W. Smith, Harry Burns Hutchins and the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1951), pp. 52-53. Also see Shirley W. Smith, James Burrill Angell: An American Influence (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1954), pp. 116-155. For his excellent overview of the two manuscript volumes which comprise James B. Angell's diary of his China mission, an overview written by an individual who frequently shared impressions of China with President Angell, see Esson M. Gale, "President James Burrill Angell's Diary As United States Treaty Commissioner and Minister to China, 1880-1881," Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review (May 1, 1943), pp. 195-208.

[9]Wilfred B. Shaw, ed., From Vermont to Michigan: Correspondence of James Burrill Angell: 1869-1871 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1936), pp. 3-4.

[10]Ibid., pp. 8-9.

[11]Laurence R. Veysey, The Emergence of the American University (Chicago: The University of Chicago), p. 101.

[12]Ibid., p. 102.

[13]John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1976), pp. 178, 172, 154; 156, 455, Like Veysey, Brubacher and Rudy base their portrait of Angell's presidency at the University of Michigan largely on President Angell's President's Annual Reports issued during his administration; his 1912 autobiography, Reminiscences, published by McKay; and Shirley W. Smith's James Burrill Angell: An American Influence (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1954).

[14]John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, p. 180. Together with Angell, Eliot, and White, other post-bellum university presidents who shared a predominantly utilitarian view of American higher education included Charles Kendall Adams (University of Wisconsin), F.A.P. Barnard (Columbia University), Nicholas Murray Butler (Columbia University), William Watts Folwell (University of Minnesota), Daniel C. Gilman (Johns Hopkins University), and G. Stanley Hall (Clark University).

[15]Burton J. Bledstein, The Culture of Professionalism: The middle class and the development of higher education in America (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1976), pp. 141-142, 335-336.

[16]The Detroit Post and Tribune, June 5, 1880, p. 1.

[17]Ibid. George V. N. Lothrop, member of the Michigan Bar and the evening's master of ceremonies later became United States Minister to Russia.

[18]Ibid. In 1854, Yung Wing became Yale University's premier Chinese graduate.

[19]E. C. Walker to James B. Angell, March 4, 1880. James B. Angell, Papers relating to the Chinese Mission, 1880-1881. Microfilm AC 137, Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Library. Hereafter cited as PCM/RBHPL. Dean Harry Simmons Freize, longtime Latin scholar at the University, served as acting president in Angell's year-and-a-half absence from Ann Arbor.

[20]Andrew D. White to James B. Angell, March 27, 1880. PCM/RBHPL. White hoped that Angell would journey to China via Berlin, Constantinople, and Suez. Angell traveled to Western Europe at the conclusion of his China mission.

[21]Indianapolis (Indiana) News, March 25, 1880. PCM/RBHPL.

[22]See "Bulletin Special de Washington," in Correspondence Organe, No. 99 (27 Mars 1880). PCM/RBHPL. With reference to the Gordian knot, the newspaper portrayed the "Chinese question" as a perplexing problem.

[23]Harper's Weekly, PCM/RBHPL. The "rough-and-ready method of 1879, referred to Congressional passage of a Chinese exclusionary

Immigration Bill, a legislative act viewed by Yale University's S. Wells Williams as "a bid for votes from the lowest strata on the Pacific Coast," ultimately vetoed by President Hayes.

[24]Harper's Weekly, PCM/RBHPL. "The 'd_____ littery fellers'" is an interesting euphemism, perhaps illustrative of begrudging regard for the American higher education community of the time. To "give" a person "innings," a phrase borrowed from the English game of cricket, is to grant one a deserved turn at bat.

[25]"The Chinese Mission," Burlington, Vermont, Free Press and Times, Tuesday, March 30, 1880; "Angell: Banquet to the New Minister to China," The Detroit Post and Tribune, Saturday, June 5, 1880. Burlingame was mindful that he shared Rhode Island origins with Angell. See then United States Navy Paymaster Samuel T. Browne's letter to Angell, Norfolk, Virginia, April 15, 1880. PCM/RBHPL.

[26]James C. Watson to James B. Angell, April 8, 1880. PCM/RBHPL. Angell received Senate confirmation as United States Minister to China and Chairperson of the Commission on Treaty revision (principally in regard to Chinese emigration) with China on April 9, 1880.

[27]"James Burrill Angell: President of the University of Michigan, 1871-1909." From an article by Professor Martin L. D'Ooge in the University Palladium . . . James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 12, Folder No. 527, MHC BHL.

[28]Edwin Neville "Typescript of the James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," Vol. I, pp. 79-81. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 13, Folder No. 547, MHC, BHL.

[29]James B. Angell, "Chap. VI: The Mission to China," p. 27. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 11, Folder No. 504, MHC, BHL.

[30]Memoirs and Remarks, Geographical, Historical, Topographical, Physical, Natural, Astronomical, Mechanical, Military, Mercantile, Political, and Ecclesiastical, Made in . . . Ten Years Travels through the Empire of China: Particularly upon Their Pottery and . . . Silk and other Manufacturers, Pearl-fishing, The History of Plants and Animals, with a Description of their Cities and Publick (sic) Works, Number of People, Manners, Language and Customs, Coin and Commerce, their Habits, Economy, and Government, the Philosophy of the Famous Confucious, with many curious Particulars ; being, in general, the most Authentick (sic) Account of that Country, Written by the Learned Lewis Le Comte, Jesuit, Counselor to the Dutchess of Burgundy and one of the French King's Mathematicians: A New Translation from the Best Paris Edition and adorned with Copper-Plates. London: J. Hughes, near Lincoln's-Inn Fields, 1737. My thanks to The Tombland Bookshop, Norwich, England, for bringing this volume to my attention.

[31]See R. Barard to Angell, March 10, 1880, and E. Hilgard to Angell, May 8, 1880. PCM/RBHPL. In his letter inviting Angell to meet with University of California faculty to discuss the Chinese immigration issue ("You will be beset by a host of loudmouthed

declaimers, whose worse than [sophomoric] eloquence and logic will try your soul."), Hilgard viewed the Chinese as "moon-eyed heathen." Descriptions of this sort abound during the post-bellum decades in the United States, even among the highly educated.

[32]Edwin Neville, "Introduction" to "Typescript of the James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," pp. 1-2. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 13, Folder No. 547, MHC, BHL. For an account of the recent dispute over pai-gow in California see Peter W. Barnes, "In California, a Brouhaha over Pai-Gow," The New York Times, April 9, 1989, p. 8F.

[33]E. W. Hilgard to Angell, June 14, 1880. James B. Angell (1829-1916) Papers, 1880. Folder 1, Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Library, Fremont, Ohio. For September, 1879, tally of California votes on Chinese immigration see Abrogation of Treaties with China, and Absolute Prohibition of Chinese Immigration. Speech of Hon. John H. Mitchell, of Oregon, in the Senate of the United States, Friday, February 26, 1886 (Washington, 1886), p. 15. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 12, Folder No. 518, MHC, BHL.

[34]C. C. Burr, "Monarchism in Republics," The Old Guard: A Monthly Magazine Devoted to Literature, Science and Art, and the Political Principles of 1776 and 1860, Vol. 8, No. 5 (May, 1870), p. 349. Then under the editorship of Thomas Dunn English, The Old Guard was billed as "the only democratic magazine published in the United States" and "a periodical which advocate(s) pure political principles, and the supremacy of the White over the inferior species of Man." English was given editorial responsibility to caste xenophobic political rhetoric in language meriting literary sanction.

[35]Rev. O. Gibson to Angell, April 2, 1880. PCM/RHPL. Also see H. O. Houghton to Angell, April 10, 1880. PCM/RHPL. While space prevents an adumbration of the ethnocentric and xenophobic advice given Angell at the outset of his diplomatic mission to China, this advice came from the American intellectual community and saturates the correspondence and interviews Angell received from that community prior to and during his mission. For example, of his interview with the historian, George Bancroft (1800-1891), in Washington, D.C., April 1, 1880, Angell wrote: "Mr. B. said he sympathized much with the Pacific coast view. He found the results of unlimited immigration of the Chinese with their peculiar customs and their habits of subordination, which led them to accept a sort of servitude as their lot. He did not want to see the young men in Massachusetts towns forced to compete with these men with their habits of living." "Typescript of the James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," Vol. I, p. 5. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 13, No. 547, MHC BHL.

[36]However ethnocentric his view of Chinese immigration to the United States, Gibson, together with other missionaries, did not favor the abolition of that immigration. See Michael H. Hunt, The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 78.

[37]"Typescript of the James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," Vol. I, p. 14. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 13, Folder No. 547, MHC BHL.

[38]Ibid., p. 4. See James B. Angell to William M. Evarts, March 11, 1880; William M. Evarts to James B. Angell, March 15, 1880; and James B. Angell to William M. Evarts, March 17, 1880. PCM/RHPL. For Evarts' views on the Chinese immigration question consult the William M. Evarts Papers, located in the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Meeting Evarts for the first time on Monday, March 1, 1880, Angell found the Secretary of State embracing the cause of restraining Chinese emigration in other than ethnocentric perspective: "He dwelt on the great solicitude and stagnation of business in California due to this cause, and in the transcendent importance of adjusting this Asiatic life to ours in some way best both for the Chinese and for us." "Typescript of the James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," Vol. I, p. 2.

[39]Michael H. Hunt, The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914, p. 89.

[40]"Typescript of the James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," Vol. II, p. 13. For a brief discussion of late nineteenth-century Chinese "institutional backwardness," manifested in the Tsungli Yamen, in dealing with foreign affairs see John King Fairbank, The Great Chinese Revolution: 1800-1985 (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1987), p. 110.

[41]"Typescript of the James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," Vol. I, pp. 17-18. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 13, Folder No. 547, MHC BHL.

[42]John King Fairbank, The United States and China. Fourth Edition. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 319. During his tenure at the American legation in Beijing James B. Angell strongly assisted efforts by American Protestant missionaries to focus their overseas efforts on China. See Michael H. Hunt, The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914, p. 160. For specific requests proffered Angell by the American missionary community in China see Rev. H. P. Happer to Angell, July 16, 1880, and Rev. W. Ashmore to Angell, September 22, 1880. PCMRHPL. Ashmore concludes his letter with the observation shared by the "devout": "Hoping that you will be able to do much for the enlargement of the field of Christian enterprise, as well as succeed in the special object of your Mission I remain Sir, your countryman, most obediently," For Angell's views on the importance of the American Protestant missionary effort in China see his April 6, 1881, address to students of the Christian mission in Beijing in which he obligates Chinese converts to "bringing the scholars of China to the cross of Christ." PCM/RHBL. For Angell's support of Christian missions in China allied with his Republican, anti-imperialist Mugwumpist sentiment, see Jane Hunter, The Gospel of

Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 271.

[43]"Typescript of the James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," Vol. I, p. 3. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 13, Folder No. 547, MHC BHL. Charleston, South Carolina's William Henry Trescot, acknowledged as the "father" of American diplomatic history, had been a vocal proslavery and secessionist advocate in the antebellum South, see Theodore Rosengarten, Tombee: Portrait of a Cotton Planter (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1986), pp. 139, 176, 544. Apparently, Trescot would not deny to the Chinese the freedom of movement he denied to African-Americans in pre-Civil War days. In an Independence Day oration to the Beaufort, South Carolina, Volunteer Artillery, July 4, 1850, Trescot exclaimed: "slavery informs all our modes of life, all our habits of thought, lies at the basis of our social existence, and of our political faith." Ibid., p. 139. For James B. Angell's longstanding interest in Chinese affairs see Shirley W. Smith, James Burrill Angell: An American Influence (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1954), especially Smith's discussion of Angell's early editorializing on Chinese emigration for the Providence, Rhode Island, Journal, p.118. Smith rendered future historians of James B. Angell's diplomatic career an invaluable service by publishing a typescript of Angell's lengthy, now virtually indecipherable, letter of March 16, 1880, to Secretary of State William M. Evarts detailing caveats in regard to the Chinese emigration issue. See ibid., pp. 119-122.

[44]Michael H. Hunt, The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914, p. 88. For germane discussions of rationales for the co-optation of academics to government service see Philip Selznick, TVA and the Grass Roots (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), especially, p. 13 and Maurice Kogan, "The Political View" in Burton R. Clark, ed., Perspectives on Higher Education: Eight Disciplinary and Comparative Views (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 69-72.

[45]Chester Holcombe to Angell, July 8, 1880. PCM/RHPL. On arrival in Beijing, Angell decided to buy Seward's furniture.

[46]William Henry Trescot to Angell, January 25, 1881. PCM/RHPL.

[47]Ibid. U. S. Senate ratification of the two treaties occurred on May 5, 1881. For Congressional authorization of emigration regulation subsequent to the Angell Commission, see Shirley W. Smith, James Burrill Angell: An American Influence (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1954), p. 139.

[48]"Typescript of the James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," Vol. II, p. 59. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 13, Folder No. 547, MHC BHL. Angell later recalled that business meetings with the Yamen often assumed a social character: "Refreshments were invariably served and it was vain to attempt to engage their attention to a matter of business, until the

refreshments were disposed of. It would seem that this usage was calculated to bring men to their conference in an amicable frame." James B. Angell, Memoirs - Chapter VI, "The Mission to China," James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 11, Folder No. 504, MHC BHL. In the large literature associated with Angell's China Mission, "Yamen" also is written "Tsung-li Yamen." For the function and origin of the Tsungli Yamen, "office in general charge of foreign affairs," 1861-1901, see Albert Feuerwerker, China's Early Industrialization: Sheng Hsuan-Huai (1844-1916) and Mandarin Enterprise (New York: Atheneum, 1970), p. 257.

[49]The quoted language of exclusion is taken directly from Article I of the Treaty upon Chinese Immigration to the United States contained in James B. Angell, "A Proclamation," in James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 12, Folder No. 578, MCH BHL. Viceroy Li Hung-chang's congratulations to Angell for his work against opium use: "The Viceroy . . . (gave) . . . warmest expressions in respect to my part in the opium clause. I told him, it did not take us a minute to agree on that article, because the article was right. He replied that I had been so instructed in the (Christian) doctrine and in the principles of right that it was natural for me to do right," occurs in "Typescript of the James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," Vol. II, p. 75. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 15, Folder No. 547, MHC BHL.

[50]Michael H. Hunt, The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914, p. 88.

[51]Allen S. Whitney, "The Administration of James Burrill Angell in Wilfred B. Shaw, ed. The University of Michigan: An Encyclopedic Survey, Vol. I, Parts I and II (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1942), p. 70. For Angell's comment: "I have accepted (The Ministerial appointment to China . . ." see The Detroit Post and Tribune, June 5, 1880, p. 1.

[52]The President's Report to the Board of Regents for the Year Ending Sept. 30, 1893 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1895), p. 10. Angell does not specifically identify the "single exception." His annual reports to the University's Board of Regents are a good source for international student enrollments during his administration. These enrollments, however, are not identified by countries of origin for the academic years 1905-1908, inclusive.

[53]For curtailment of the late nineteenth-century Chinese Educational Mission to the United States, see Michael H. Hunt, The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914, p. 60. For a plea to Angell to revive that Mission see J. H. Twichell, Pastor of the Hartford, Connecticut, Anglican Hill Congregational Church, to Angell, December 23, 1880, PCM/RHPL. For the United States Government's displeasure with the Educational Mission's termination, see "Typescript of the James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," Vol. II, p. 76. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 13, Folder No. 547, MHC BHL. For a contemporary Chinese Government effort to liken Chinese students

studying in Western countries to "flies and worms" and the implication "that a 'screen' must be placed over China's windows to the world to prevent 'flies and worms' from infesting the country" see David E. Sanger, "China To Permit Fewer Students to Study in U.S.," The New York Times (September 3, 1989), p. 1. In the early decades of the twentieth century, Japan became the training ground for Chinese students studying overseas, not the United States or, more generally, the West, see John King Fairbank, The United States and China, Fourth Edition, p. 213.

[54]Paul Theroux, Riding the Iron Rooster: By Train Through China (New York: Ivy Books, 1989), p. 68.

[55]James B. Angell, Patriotism and International Brotherhood: A Baccalaureate Address delivered by James Burrill Angell, LL.D., President of the University of Michigan, June 23, 1896 (Ann Arbor: The Inland Press, 1896), p. 10.

[56]Sarah Caswell Angell to Alexis Caswell Angell, October 10, 1880; Sarah Caswell Angell to Alexis Caswell Angell, "Eck," August 31, 1880. Sarah Caswell Angell correspondence, 1880, Box 157-Q, MHC BHL. Her reference to "the Chinese market" refers to the market at Yantai (Chefoo), a bustling end-of-the-nineteenth-century trading port located on the north coast of the Shandong peninsula.

[57]Sarah Caswell Angell to Fanny Cooley Angell, January 9, 1881. Sarah Caswell Angell correspondence, 1881 and 1886, Box 157-Q. MHC BHL. Her husband's view of the Yamen's New Year's visit was benign: "Much to my regret [Angell did not favor diplomacy conducted on the Sabbath] the Prince and Yamen . . . set today for their New Year's call. Had they arranged to call only on me I would have asked for some other day. But W. H. (?) said I could not change this without their misunderstanding it. So they came, Prince Kung and the Yamen and high officials enough to make 36 in all. They came in three groups, and were neater in their manners than they used to be. They were as pleased as children with the bonbons and carried off their pockets full." "Typescript of the James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," Vol. II, p. 4. James B. Angell Papers, Box 13, Folder No. 547, MHC BHL.

[58]Sarah Caswell Angell, Diary No. 6, p. 12. MHC BHL. Sarah Caswell Angell to Fanny Cooley Angell, June 19, 1881. Sarah Caswell Angell Correspondence, 1881 and 1886, Box 157-Q. MHC BHL.

[59]See her diary entry for Thanksgiving Day, 1880, in which looking at the experiences of twenty-five years of marriage to Angell, Sarah Caswell Angell exclaims: "God help me to make my life a continual thank offering by entire devotion to his will." Sarah Caswell Angell, Diary No. 6, p. 45. MHC BHL.

[60]Sarah Caswell Angell, Diary No. 8, pp. 1-2. MHC BHL.

[61]Sarah Caswell Angell to Fanny Cooley Angell, September 4, 1881. Sarah Caswell Angell Correspondence, 1881 and 1886, Box 157-Q, MHC BHL. For her reference to the "poisonous" atmosphere of Chinese cities and Chinese chair bearers treated as beasts of burden, see Sarah Caswell Angell, Diary No. 11, "journal of week at the Hills West of Peking commencing Sunday July 17th ending Monday July 25th, 1881," pp. 6, 8. MHC BHL.

[62]James Rowland Angell to Alexis Caswell Angell, "Eck," October 11, 1880; November 21, 1880. James Rowland Angell Correspondence, 1880-1891. MHC BHL. See Sarah Caswell Angell's letter to Alexis Caswell Angell, August 9, 1880, in which she states of "Jimmy:" "The child is so homesick and is nervous about exposure to the sun that I am greatly puzzled to know what to do with him." Sarah Caswell Angell correspondence, 1880, Folder 157-Q, MHC BHL.

[63]Lois Thompson Angell, Diary No. 1, p. 63; Lois Thompson Angell, Diary No. 2, p. 31. MHC BHL. It is difficult to determine to whom she refers by "the others"; possibly this reference includes exclusively her immediate family.

[64]Lois Thompson Angell, Diary No. 3, p. 73. MHC BHL.

[65]Robert A. McCaughey, International Studies and Academic Enterprise: A Chapter in the Enclosure of American Learning (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), p. 54.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Esson M. Gale, "President James Burrill Angell's Diary As United States Treaty Commissioner and Minister to China, 1880-1881," Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review (May 1, 1943), p. 206. "Dr. Angell's abiding interest in education and the promotion of the welfare of humanity continuously manifested itself along with his diplomatic responsibilities," Ibid.

[68]Robert A. McCaughey, International Studies and Academic Enterprise: A Chapter in the Enclosure of American Learning, p. 54. The chief source for Samuel Wells Williams' life remains his son's biography, Frederick Wells Williams, The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams: Missionary, Diplomatist, Sinologue (New York: Putnam, 1889).

[69]James B. Angell, "Chapter VI: The Mission to China," p. 40. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 11, Folder No. 504, MHC BHL. In his diary James B. Angell noted that, upon reaching Tianjin, the Viceroy, Li Hung-chang, "kindly expressed a desire that I should remain and said he supposed the care of a university less harassing and trying than diplomatic work. I assured him that the contrary was the case." "Typescript of the James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," Vol. II, No. 547. MHC BHL.

[70]Ibid., p. 74.

[71]Lois Thompson Angell, Diary No. 3, p. 67. MHC BHL. The observatory to which Lois T. Angell refers was built in 1296; after the Jesuits in 1610 predicted an eclipse, they were put in charge of administering the observatory (1629). See Evelyne Garside, China Companion: A Guide to 100 cities, resorts and places of interest in the People's Republic (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1982), p. 59. James B. Angell's notation for April 7, 1881, occurs in "Typescript of the James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," Vol. II, p. 29. On his skepticism regarding indigenous Chinese educational strategies Angell wrote of members of the Yamen [see note 48 above], "These keen reasoners were almost absolutely devoid of mathematical or scientific education. I . . . doubted whether in reaching their conclusions they were aware as we are of taking certain logical steps. If they were, they did not make known the steps to us, but at once stated their conclusions." (Emphasis added.) This somewhat ethnocentric commentary occurs in James B. Angell, "Chapter VI: The Mission to China," p. 33. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 11, Folder No. 504. MHC BHL. In Angell's view, Chinese "intellectual training [was] purely linguistic." Ibid.

[72]James B. Angell, "China and the Chinese: Notes for lecture," p. 2. James B. Angell Papers, addresses and articles, Box No. 9, Folder No. 346, MHC BHL.

[73]Sarah Caswell Angell to "My Dear Children," December 4, 1880. Sarah Caswell Angell Correspondence, 1880. MHC BHL. Mrs. Angell would be honored by having a Bible Women's Training School erected in Beijing as a memorial to her "desire to help benighted ones to a knowledge of the saviour she loved and loves." Edith Eddy Lyons to President James B. Angell, April 22, 1905. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 13, Folder No. 543. MHC BHL.

[74]James B. Angell, "Chapter VI: The Mission to China," p. 45. For the contribution of missionary schools to education of Chinese women in the 1880s, see Jane Hunter, The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China, p. 22.

[75]"Typescript of the James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," Vol. I, p. 58. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 13, Folder No. 547. MHC BHL. "Kangs" referred to stone floors heated by flues transporting heat [and smoke] from kitchen hearths.

[76]Ibid., Vol. II, p. 43.

[77]Ibid., Vol. II, p. 16.

[78]Sarah Caswell Angell to Fanny Cooley Angell, July 30, 1881. Sarah Caswell Angell Correspondence, 1881 and 1886. MHC BHL.

[79]Lois T. Angell, Diary No. 1, p. 29. MHC BHL.

[80]"Typescript of the James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," Vol. II, p. 68. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 13, Folder No. 547. MHC BHL.

[81]Ibid., Vol. II, p. 64.

[82]Ibid., Vol. I, p. 21.

[83]Ibid., Vol. II, p. 31. Also see Lois Thompson Angell, Diary No. 2, pp. 61-62. Of this University news "Daisy" exclaimed: "(W)e are of course (sic) radiant."

[84]Sarah Caswell Angell to Alexis Caswell Angell, March 27, 1881. Sarah Caswell Angell Correspondence, 1881 and 1886, Box 157-Q. MHC BHL. For a concise, yet substantive, account of the Douglas-Rose controversy, see Howard H. Peckham, The Making of the University of Michigan, 1817-1967 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1967), pp. 73-74.

[85]Thomas McIntyre Cooley to Angell, Sept. 25, 1880. PCM/RHPL.

[86]Ibid.

[87]Lois T. Angell, Diary No. 2, p. 55. MHC BHL. See Sarah Caswell Angell's letter to Fanny Cooley Angell of March 13, 1881, in which she states: "How anxious we are to know if President Hayes made any appointment for the Supreme Court and . . . we hope that your father was selected. Certainly there is none more fit. This . . . is a purely unselfish wish on our part for such a change would involve a great loss to us in A.A. Sarah Caswell Angell correspondence, 1881 and 1886, Box 157-Q. MHC BHL. President Hayes actually nominated Stanley Mathews for the United States Supreme Court post.

[88]James B. Angell to the Board of Regents, January 14, 1881. PCM/RHPL. Information regarding Henry Carter Adams is adapted from Howard H. Peckham, The Making of the University of Michigan, 1817-1967 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1967), p. 83.

[89]Earl Herbert Cressy, "Converting the Missionary," Asia, Vol. 19 (June, 1919), p. 553. Quoted in Robert A. McCaughey, International Studies and Academic Enterprise: A Chapter in the Enclosure of American Learning, p. 54.

[90]Ibid., pp. xiv; 64-65. For Shils' exegesis of academic "institutionalization" see his "Tradition, Ecology, and Institution in the History of Sociology," in Edward Shils, ed. The Calling of Sociology and Other Essays on the Pursuit of Learning. (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1980), pp. 165-256.

[91]"Typescript of the James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," Vol. I, p. 86. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 13, Folder No. 547, MHC BHL. Sir Walter Hillier

became a well-known sinologue and author of Chinese Language and How to Learn It.

[92]"Typescript of the James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," Vol. I, p. 45. James B. Angell Papers, Box No. 13, Folder No. 547, MHC BHL. Apparently, Li Hung-chang had not heard of a mythical region of China called "Doodleland," ruled by a despot, "Grant pressy" with the surname of "Dent," nor did Angell inform him of this type of vitriolic political caricature published in post-Civil War America. See footnote 34 above.

[93]James B. Angell, "China and the Chinese, notes for a lecture," p. 3. James B. Angell Papers, Addresses and Articles, Box No. 9, Folder No. 346. MHC BHL. The reference to Angell's handwriting occurs in Esson M. Gale, "President James Burrill Angell's Diary as United States Treaty Commissioner and Minister to China, 1880-1881," in Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review (May 1, 1943), p. 195.

[94]James B. Angell, "China and the Chinese, notes for lecture," pp. 17, 23, 35. James B. Angell Papers, Address and Articles, Box No. 9, Folder No. 346. MHC BHL.

[95]James B. Angell, "France, China and the Vatican," pp. 1-2. James B. Angell Papers, Addresses and Articles, Box No. 9, Folder No. 360. MHC BHL.

[96]James B. Angell, "Relations of Western Powers to China and Japan, July 15, 1884," p. 15. James B. Angell Papers, Addresses and Articles, Box No. 9, Folder No. 351. For in-depth discussion of the Franco-Chinese conflict of 1883-1884 regarding French incursions in a Chinese tribute state, see Michael H. Hunt, The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914, pp. 133-136.

[97]James B. Angell, "Relations of Western Powers to China and Japan, July 15, 1884," pp. 2, 3, 11. James B. Angell Papers, Addresses and Articles, Box No. 9, Folder No. 351.

[98]Ibid., p. 22. The Angell Papers contain many references to the opium trade.

[99]Ibid, pp. 27-28.

[100]Ibid., p. 34.

[101]James B. Angell, "Peking and Its Environs," pp. 14-15. James B. Angell Papers, Addresses and Articles, Box No. 9, Folder No. 346.

[102]James B. Angell, "An Interview with Chinese Gordon," pp. 2-3. James B. Angell Papers, Addresses and Articles, Box No. 9, Folder No. 352. MHC BHL. The reference to Angell's "Mid-Victorian Outlook" occurs in Howard H. Peckham, The Making of the University of Michigan, 1817-1967, p. 104. For Charles Gordon's involvement in Chinese